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Presented are condensed versions of background papers for the National Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment held in Stillwater, Oklahoma, on September 22-25, 1963. Twenty-seven papers are grouped under the following divisions: (1) rural community backgrounds; (2) rural education; (3) physical and mental health of rural youth; (4) prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency in rural areas; (5) adapting to urban ways; and (6) helping socially disadvantaged rural youth. Related documents are RC 000 137 and RC 000 156. (SF)

Rural Youth in Crisis

Facts, Myths, and Social Change

THE BACKGROUND papers presented in this volume were prepared and edited under the supervision of the National Committee for Children and Youth which sponsored the National Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment, in Stillwater, Oklahoma, September 22–25, 1963. This volume is published as a service of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

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Rural Youth in Crisis: Facts, Myths, and Social Change

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Edited by:
LEE G. BURCHINAL

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Foreword

The material contained in this volume is a condensed version of a collection of papers originally prepared as background information for the "Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment," sponsored by the National Committee for Children and Youth, and held at Stillwater, Okla., September 22–25, 1963. This Conference on rural youth was an outgrowth of a previous "Conference on Unemployed, Out-of-School Youth in Urban Areas," also sponsored by the National Committee for Children and Youth. One of the significant observations of the "Urban Conference," was the relationship between social deprivation experienced by a large number of urban children and youth, many of whom came from rural areas with their families, and high rates of school dropouts, unemployment, and delinquency. Concern for problems of rural as well as urban youth led to the development of the "Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment" and to this book.

All youth, rural and urban alike, are confronted with and must resolve common problems associated with growing up in our society. Similar developmental tasks must be mastered and roughly comparable means are available for their accomplishment. All youth are confronted with decisions related to educational, occupational, marital, residential, and other social choices, and must reach their decisions in the midst of rapid social change which is characterized primarily by demands for higher levels of skill, knowledge, and social functioning. But for reasons that are clearly identified in this volume, additional burdens are imposed upon many rural youth. Not only are many rural youth seriously disadvantaged socially, economically, and educationally, but these problems are compounded because rural youth often fail to receive sufficient preparation to bridge the gap between being able to "get by" in a rural environment and becoming contributing citizens in an urban society.

So it is that migration is central to any discussion of rural youth in modern society. All but a small portion of farm youth will have to pursue nonfarm careers. Most rural youth, by choice or necessity, will be attracted to large metropolitan complexes. Too frequently, these rural youth lack the resources needed for earning an adequate living and for developing a satisfying and meaningful life in the cities to which they go. But migrant youth are not the only ones who face problems. Severe problems related to securing and keeping employment and to building a meaningful life also occur among rural youth who remain in their home environment.

Many of the problems encountered by rural youth—all youth for that matter—are not of their making. Their problems partly arise from the lack of family and community resources or their inappropriateness for current conditions. Poverty is more widespread in rural than in urban America. Educational levels among rural adults lag far behind those of urban adults. School, health, and social service facilities in rural communities typically are less adequately staffed than corresponding urban facilities and services. Despite these obvious family and community conditions which handicap too many rural youth, until recently there has been little public concern about the preparation of rural youth for living in urbanized society. To develop programs to aid rural youth, it is important to identify some reasons why we have been complacent about the status of rural youth.

The major organizations which generally provide leadership for rural America have focused almost exclusively on agricultural price and production legislation and generally have not crusaded for updating legislation or for providing adequate financing necessary for improving rural schools, health, law enforcement, and welfare services.

Second, several beliefs frequently voiced by these organizations and rural leaders have worked against the development of the programs needed to help rural youth better prepare for adult roles. One assumption is derived from the impact of modern technology upon rural social systems. The development of modern communication and transportation and the frequent movement of ideas and people between the rural and urban communities, it is asserted, have greatly reduced if not completely eliminated previous social and psychological differences between rural and urban youth. Another assumption is that rural youth, on the average, are superior to urban youth in most ways, including resourcefulness, industriousness, and citizenship. The latter reflects elements of rural nostalgia, agrarian romanticism, or Jeffersonian idealism. These beliefs are false. Careful research data reviewed in various chapters of this volume point to an opposite conclusion: for many characteristics which are closely related to educational and occupational attainment and success, rural youth are at a disadvantage relative to urban youth.

A third set of factors has hindered efforts to accurately assess the characteristics of rural youth and how well rural youth are prepared for life in urban United States. These are the affluence of American society and our preoccupation with the complex, serious, even explosive problems of youth in the inner core of our cities. This well-deserved and long overdue attention to problems of urban youth, however, should not blind us to equally difficult, though often less visible, problems of rural youth as they become young adults.

Much is known and can be used to assist rural youth to better prepare for adult life, whether they move to urban centers or remain in rural communities. Yet more knowledge is needed, and still better ways need to be developed so that current knowledge can be built into effective programs which will help rural youth achieve fuller and more satisfying adult lives.

The "Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment" was called so that problems of rural youth could be made more visible, analyzed more carefully, and attacked more vigorously than has been done in the past. Specifically, the objectives of the Conference were to assemble and integrate available information about the problems and potentials of rural youth in our modern, industrialized, and urban society; to use this information to gain better understanding of the problems of rural youth now and in the coming decades; to focus attention on immediate steps which need to be undertaken; and to help mobilize the resources needed to ensure that rural youth are prepared to assume their adult roles constructively in our rapidly changing society.

To accomplish these objectives, supplemental or, in many cases, new programs must be developed. These programs, however, must be based on careful, systematic, and rigorous examination of knowledge. Therefore, the "Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment" began with an assessment of present knowledge based on background papers specially prepared for the Conference. Although these papers were prepared for distribution to conferees prior to the Conference, their value extends far beyond that initial use. All contain information essential to understanding some aspects of the social adjustment of rural youth. Some contain new information that has not been previously published; others contain suggestions for new programs or courses of action. The papers were prepared by leading authorities in fields represented by the concerns of the Conference. While the National Committee for Children and Youth has full confidence in the knowledge and experience of the authors and editor, the views expressed are not necessarily those of the National Committee for Children and Youth or the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare which has made possible the publication of this volume. Together, the 54[1] original papers, now reorganized into 27 chapters in this volume, represent a unique, comprehensive, and up-to-date collection of information, interpretation of characteristics of rural youth, and suggestions for ways of improving services and facilities in rural communities to help rural youth assume their adult roles.

Many Government agencies, national organizations, State committees for children and youth, and individuals made contributions both to the Conference and to the collection and preparation of the information contained in these background papers. Financial support which made both the Conference and the collection of this body of information possible also came from a number of sources. The principal financial contributions were made by the Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, and the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and

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[1] Copies of the complete papers as prepared by the authors and as used at the Conference are available from the National Committee for Children and Youth. See Appendix.

Youth Development, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Appreciation is also due to the U.S. Department of Agriculture which generously made the services of Dr. Lee G. Burchinal, then with the Economic Research Service, available for coordinating the development of the background papers prior to the Conference.

MRS. THOMAS HERLIHY, Jr.,
Chairman, National Committee for Children and Youth.

Preface

A broad and integrated conceptual approach is necessary to fully understand problems of rural youth and to better appreciate the contributions these youth can make to our society. Accordingly, the 54 background papers were developed from a general conceptual outline based on the conditions encountered by most rural youth today. For the purposes of publication and to eliminate duplication among these independently prepared papers, most papers on closely related topics have been combined and are organized into chapters around the general outline used for developing the original background papers. This outline consists of six interrelated parts: (a) Their Rural Community Backgrounds; (b) Rural Education; (c) Physical and Mental Health of Rural Youth; (d) Prevention and Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency in Rural Areas; (e) Adapting to Urban Ways; and (f) Helping Socially Disadvantaged Rural Youth. The Appendix provides a listing of the authors and titles of all 54 original papers. Also, at the beginning of each chapter that now contains material combined from two or more original background papers, the authors of the original papers are identified, as is the person who prepared the present chapter based on the original background papers.

Part One, "Their Rural Community Backgrounds," consists of four chapters. Rural youth are the heirs of the economic, social, family, educational, and cultural systems of their communities. We begin, therefore, with an examination of salient demographic, economic, family, and community structures and processes that influence the development of rural youth.

Because formal educational attainment is becoming increasingly linked to occupational, economic, and social achievement, and because education is, therefore, becoming increasingly complex, *Part Two* is devoted entirely to rural education, and the educational attainment and aspirations of rural youth.

Part Three, contains a comprehensive examination of physical health problems among rural children and youth and identifies mental retardation and mental health problems and proposes programs for treatment of these problems in rural areas.

Because of the national significance of juvenile delinquency and because of the impact of large scale programs developed by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development in cooperation with the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, *Part Four* is concerned with the need for more effective programs in rural areas for the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency and for the custody and treatment of juvenile and youthful offenders.

Most rural youth undergo a common experience—movement from less populated to more densely populated areas and, consequently, adaptation to urbanized ways of life. For some the change is simple and is made easily. For others, changes from rural ways of living to the more impersonalized demands and more complex relationships of city life result in personal frustration, demoralization, increased poverty, and sometimes, dependency upon public or private welfare. Adjustments of most rural migrants to cities, however, occur between these two extremes. How adjustments are made to urban life and some programs that can be developed to aid rural-reared young adults to adapt to city ways, are treated in the eight chapters which comprise *Part Five.*

Programs of private and public agencies do not have the same impact on all children and youth. Their influence varies with many characteristics of youth which, in turn, result from the interaction of numerous family and other social experiences. More important than individual differences among rural children and youth is their membership, usually because of birth, in recognizable or "visible" social groups. Because they are Negroes, American Indians, or come from a Spanish-speaking background or from impoverished white families, large numbers of rural youth share similar liabilities and handicaps and are confronted with common problems. Unless provided greater assistance than they currently are receiving, many of the children and youth from economically deprived families, when they reach adulthood will continue to perpetuate the cycle of poverty, dependency, or low income of their parents. Deprived youth can be helped to break out of the bonds of dependency or poverty. Poverty in the United States, about which the Nation is now so deeply concerned, can be greatly reduced by concentrating preventive and remedial efforts on those "high risk" categories of youth who suffer from cultural and economic deprivation. For this reason, *Part Six* focuses on "Helping Socially Disadvantaged Rural Youth."

The Conference and the publication of this book do not by themselves solve any of the serious problems confronting rural communities and the Nation in assisting one-third of our youth to develop constructive and satisfying adult lives. Both the Conference and now the publication of the material from the background papers, including the research findings on numerous topics, interpretations of these data, and, numerous guidelines for further action, however, represent further steps in creating greater social awareness of the problems of rural youth in a rapidly changing society, and, in a modest way, we hope, toward the development of a wide range of programs which will enable all youth to achieve more ably and to live more productively and competently as adults, whether they reside in the countryside, in small towns, or in metropolitan centers.

LEE G. BURCHINAL,
Washington, D.C.

PART I

Their Rural Community Backgrounds

Chapter 1

Some Demographic Characteristics of Rural Youth

By J. Allan Beegle, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State University; Rodger Rice, M.A., Assistant Instructor in Sociology and Anthropology and in the Institute for Community Development at Michigan State University.

INTRODUCTION

The demographer seeks to answer questions about the number, distribution, and characteristics of populations, such as age, sex, race, migration, marital status, and labor force participation.

This chapter is divided into two major parts. First, the rural population and its component parts are described. Second, the number, distribution, and selected characteristics of rural youth are outlined, together with a suggestion of some future changes.

Before turning to the specific concerns of this paper, several general observations may be useful. Contemporary American society is best understood, it seems to us, as a predominantly urbanized and industrial society. As such it has become a highly organized mass society in which all sectors are interdependent. In one sense, there is a "leveling" tendency operating to make all sectors of society more homogeneous due to overriding urban influences. Mass communication media and distribution of goods and facilities have effected a diminution of the formerly wide gulf which separated rural and urban residents. In another sense, there is a tendency toward increased specialization or functional differentiation in American society when viewed in terms of metropolitan dominance. Modern American society may be viewed as a metropolitan economy in which the larger cities organize and integrate commercial, financial, and other activities throughout a large area. Such centers may be viewed as "dominants" in terms of organizing the economy and social structure, not only of urban but also of the rural sector as well (2, 5, 8, 10, 16).

From this description of contemporary American society, it follows that urban centers will draw manpower, as they have in the past, from rural areas (13). The pattern of rural to urban migration has become normative to such a degree that many farm youth grow up with the expectation that they will and must move away. From the demographer's perspective, modern American society exemplifies those societies which have completed the transition from high birth and death rates to low or controlled birth and death rates (10, 12). Accordingly, changing population distributions and characteristics between areas within the American population are largely due to selectivity in inmigration (1).

The Rural Population in 1960

In this paper the rural population is subdivided, in accord with census practice, into the rural-nonfarm and rural-farm components. As a result of a new definition used in 1960, the rural-farm population consists of persons living in rural territory on places of 10 acres or more from which sales of farm products amounted to $50 or more in 1959, or on places of less than 10 acres from which sales of farm products amounted to $250 or more in 1959. This change in definition reduced substantially the size of the farm population compared with the number that would have been so classified had the 1950 definition been applied (10).

The rural-nonfarm portion of the rural population is a heterogeneous residual population which remains after the rural-farm and urban populations have been identified. Specifically, the rural-nonfarm population includes: (a) Residents of small towns, villages, and hamlets under 2,500 population; (b) residents of the open country who do not meet the requirements of farm residence; and (c) residents of "fringe" areas, especially those outside the incorporated limits of cities under 50,000 in size. Thus, the total rural population includes both the rural-nonfarm and rural-farm components. Due to the heterogeneity of the rural-nonfarm segment and the obvious "nonrural" character of a large part of it, attention is concentrated on the rural-farm segment, and data are shown separately for the two rural segments.

Number and Distribution of the Rural Population

The total rural population of the United States in 1960 amounted to 54 million persons, or about 30 percent of the total. The rural-nonfarm segment numbered 40.6 million; the rural-farm segment 13.5 million. As percentages of the total population, the former comprised 22.6 percent and the latter 7.5 percent. Regional variations in the size of the rural component show the South and North Central States to be the most rural regions and the Northeast and West to be the least rural. While the South is more than 41 percent rural, only 10.8 percent of this region's population is classed as rural-farm. Other details concerning regional differences in rural population are shown in table 1.

Another view of rural residence in the United States is provided by the size of place classification. Of the U.S. population, approximately 6.5 million (3.6 percent) reside in rural places of 1,000 to 2,500 population,

Table 1. Population of the United States and Component Regions by Rural-nonfarm and Rural-farm Residence, 1960 [a]

United States and regions	Total		All rural		Rural-nonfarm		Rural-farm	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
U.S. total	179,325,671	100.0	54,041,888	30.1	40,596,990	22.6	13,444,898	7.5
Northeast	44,681,702	100.0	8,838,684	19.7	7,926,261	17.7	912,423	2.0
North Central	51,623,773	100.0	16,138,272	31.2	10,745,701	20.8	5,392,571	10.4
South	54,963,470	100.0	22,797,630	41.5	16,876,833	30.7	5,920,797	10.8
West	28,056,726	100.0	6,267,302	22.3	5,048,195	18.0	1,219,107	4.3

[a] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (14).

3.9 million (2.2 percent) reside in places under 1,000 population, and 43.7 million (24.3 percent) reside in other rural territory.

Race and Nativity of the Rural Population

As shown in table 2, the total population of the United States is composed of about 89 percent whites and 11 percent persons of nonwhite races. The proportion of nonwhites in the rural-nonfarm population is slightly below the national average; in the rural-farm population it is slightly above the national average. Nonwhites are numerous in both farm and rural-nonfarm parts of the South and also comprise a significant part of the rural population in the West.

There were about 5.6 million nonwhites in the rural population in 1960. Of this number about 4 million were rural-nonfarm residents and

Table 2. White and Nonwhite Population of the United States and Component Regions by Rural-nonfarm and Rural-farm Residence, 1960 [a]

United States and regions	Total		All rural		Rural-nonfarm		Rural-farm	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
U.S. total:								
Whites	158,837,671	88.6	48,395,005	89.6	36,543,205	90.0	11,851,800	88.2
Nonwhites	20,488,000	11.4	5,646,883	10.4	4,053,785	10.0	1,593,098	11.8
Northeast:								
Whites	41,527,941	92.9	8,688,328	98.3	7,782,615	98.2	905,713	99.3
Nonwhites	3,153,761	7.1	150,356	1.7	143,646	1.8	6,710	0.7
North Central:								
Whites	48,005,880	93.0	15,916,631	98.6	10,555,502	98.2	5,361,129	99.4
Nonwhites	3,617,893	7.0	221,641	1.4	190,199	1.8	31,442	0.6
South:								
Whites	43,469,348	79.1	17,993,118	78.9	13,553,880	80.3	4,439,238	75.0
Nonwhites	11,494,122	20.9	4,804,512	21.1	3,322,953	19.7	1,481,559	25.0
West:								
Whites	25,834,502	92.1	5,796,928	92.5	4,651,208	92.1	1,145,720	94.0
Nonwhites	2,222,224	7.9	470,374	7.5	396,987	7.9	73,387	6.0

[a] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (14).

about 1.6 million were rural-farm residents. The number of nonwhites in the four regions is given in table 2. Nonwhites include Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and others, as well as Negroes, but of all rural-nonwhites in the United States, the vast majority (5.1 million) are Negroes. Approximately 378,000 are American Indians, 83,000 are Japanese, 11,000 are Chinese, 47,000 are Filipinos, and 68,000 are other races.

While the white population of America derives largely from European stock, the foreign-born no longer form a large proportion of the total population. This is particularly true of the rural population. As of 1960, only 1.6 percent of the rural-farm population and 2.5 percent of the rural-nonfarm population had been born abroad. The comparable proportion for the urban population, however, was 6.8 percent.

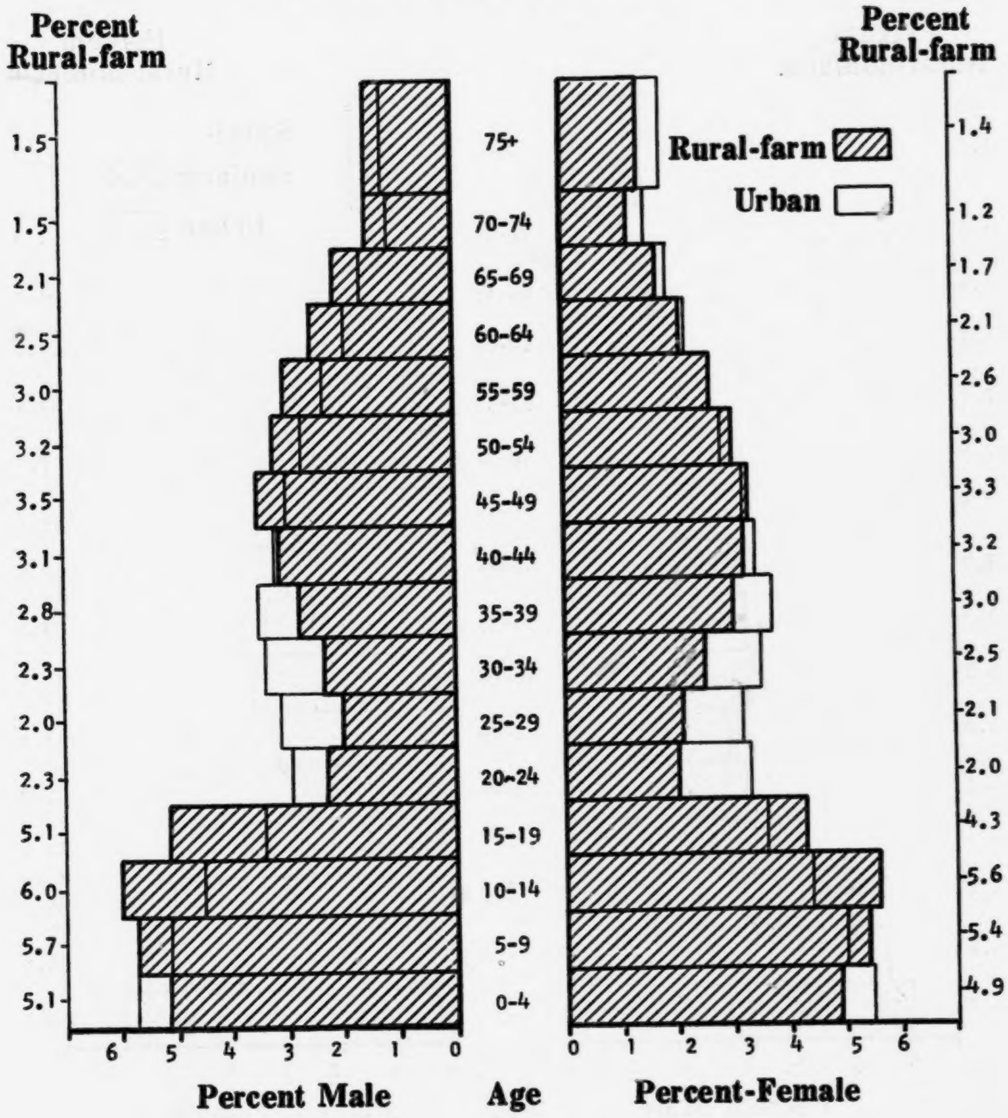
Age and Sex Composition of the Rural Population

The age-sex structure furnishes a "snapshot" which summarizes birth, death, and migration experiences of a population at a given point in time. The age-sex structures of the rural-farm and of the rural-nonfarm populations differ from the urban population in several ways, as indicated graphically in figures 1 and 2. Three important differences between the rural-farm and urban population are that the former in relation to the latter contains large proportions of youth (except those under 5 years of age), very small proportions of young adults between 20 and 45 years of age, and large proportions of older males. The major explanation of most of these differences is the urban migration of farm youth and the migration of older women, often when widowed, from the farm population.

The rural-nonfarm population in relation to the urban population (fig. 2) generally has the same features as the rural-farm population but in less extreme form. Especially noteworthy, for example, is the large proportion of children under 10. Also, the percentage of rural-nonfarm males is smaller than urban males for each age group after 25 until age 70; the percentage of rural-nonfarm females is smaller than urban females for each age group after 20. While the same kinds of selective migration are in evidence in the two rural population structures, they are less extreme in the rural-nonfarm population (4).

Age and sex composition for whites and nonwhites in the United States are different (3, 11). Generally nonwhites in all residence groups possess very low median age levels as compared with whites. In the rural-farm population the median age for nonwhites is 17.4 years and for whites 31.7; in the rural-nonfarm population the respective medians are 20.0 and 27.5; and in the urban population the respective medians are 25.3 and 31.0. Rural-farm whites exhibit the highest median age and rural-farm nonwhites exhibit the lowest median age of all residence groups.

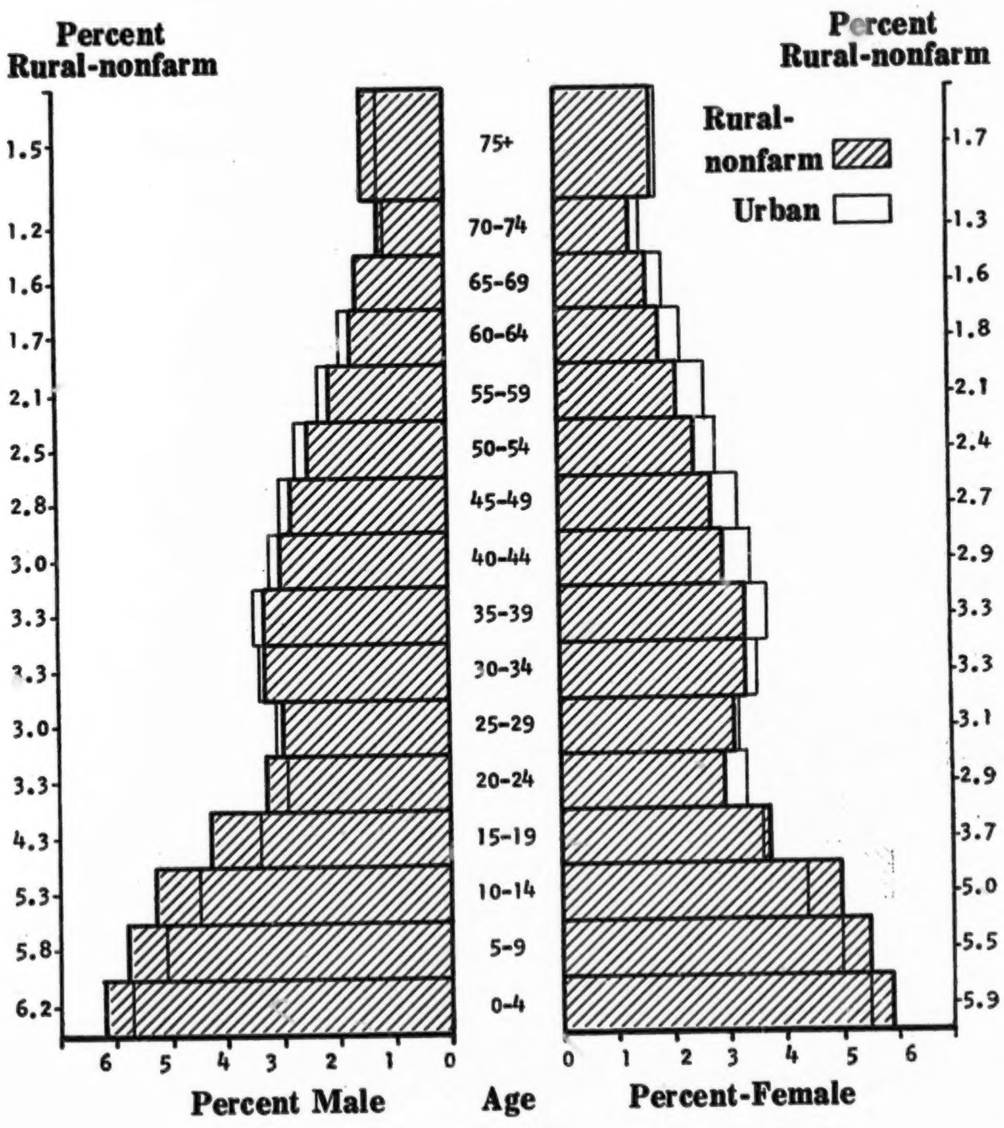
Figure 1. Comparison of age-sex pyramids of rural-farm and urban populations of the United States, 1960.[a]



[a] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (14)

In each segment of the rural population the number of males for every 100 females (the sex ratio) was high in 1960. High sex ratios characterized both whites and nonwhites. Rural-farm whites had a sex ratio of 108.0; nonwhites 101.7. The respective sex ratios for rural-nonfarm whites and nonwhites were 103.3 and 102.9; for urban whites and nonwhites they were 94.4 and 91.6. The high sex ratios in both segments of the rural population reflect the selective outmigration of females from rural areas. The location of military bases and penal institutions in rural areas also helps to raise the sex ratios for rural areas.

Figure 2. Comparison of age-sex pyramids of rural-nonfarm and urban populations of the United States, 1960.[a]



[a] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (14).

RURAL YOUTH IN 1960

Youth are defined for our purposes as that segment of the population between 15 and 24 years of age, although additional attention is given to those between 15 and 19 in the rural-farm group (4). It is necessary to describe rural farm and rural-nonfarm youth separately due to major differences in characteristics. Furthermore, it is often essential to separate the younger from the older youth because of different life cycle phases represented by the two groups.

Number and Distribution of Rural Youth

Youth in the ages of 15–24 include about 24 million persons or 13.4 percent of the total population in 1960. Rural youth number approximately 7.5 million persons, including 5.7 million of rural-nonfarm residence and 1.8 million of rural-farm residence. Youth account for 14.1 percent of the total rural-nonfarm population and 13.7 percent of the total rural-farm population.

As presented in table 3, youth in the ages of 15–19 in 1960 numbered about 3.2 million in the rural-nonfarm population and 1.3 million in the rural-farm population. The former represents 24.4 percent of all youth in these ages and the latter, 9.5 percent. In each of the rural population

TABLE 3. Number, Distribution and Sex Ratio of 15–19 and 20–24 year old groups in the United States, by Residence and Color, 1960 [a]

Age and color	Total	United States by residence		
		Urban	Rural-nonfarm	Rural-farm
U.S. total				
Youth 15-19:				
Number in age group	13,287,439	8,776,911	3,245,271	1,265,257
Percent by residence	100.0	66.1	24.4	9.5
Percent age group is of all ages	7.4	7.0	8.0	9.4
Males per 100 females	101.7	95.1	114.2	120.0
Youth 20-24:				
Number in age group	10,803,169	7,729,522	2,494,963	578,684
Percent by residence	100.0	71.5	23.1	5.4
Percent age group is of all ages	6.0	6.2	6.1	4.3
Males per 100 females	95.7	89.2	113.4	118.5
U.S. whites				
Youth 15-19:				
Number in age group	11,666,367	7,729,401	2,858,390	1,078,576
Percent by residence	100.0	66.3	24.5	9.2
Percent age group is of all ages	7.3	7.0	7.8	9.1
Males per 100 females	102.1	95.6	114.0	122.0
Youth 20-24:				
Number in age group	9,479,847	6,756,968	2,230,256	492,623
Percent by residence	100.0	71.3	23.5	5.2
Percent age group is of all ages	6.0	6.1	6.1	4.2
Males per 100 females	96.6	90.4	112.3	120.2
U.S. nonwhites				
Youth 15-19:				
Number in age group	1,621,072	1,047,510	386,881	186,681
Percent by residence	100.0	64.6	23.9	11.5
Percent age group is of all ages	7.9	7.1	9.5	11.7
Males per 100 females	98.6	91.5	115.2	109.0
Youth 20-24:				
Number in age group	1,323,322	972,554	264,707	86,061
Percent by residence	100.0	73.5	20.0	6.5
Percent age group is of all ages	6.5	6.6	6.5	5.4
Males per 100 females	89.7	80.9	122.8	109.4

[a] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (14).

groups, youth 15–19 are overrepresented in comparison to those in urban areas.

Youth in the ages of 20–24 in 1960 numbered about 2.5 million in the rural-nonfarm population and about one-half million in the rural-farm population. The former represents 23.3 percent of all youth in these ages and the latter represents 5.4 percent of all youth in these ages. Rural youth 20–24 years of age are underrepresented in relation to urban youth, reflecting the outmigration to urban areas that occurs after school-leaving ages.

Rural youth are not evenly distributed throughout the United States. Very large numbers are located in the South and North Central Regions and relatively small numbers in the Northeast and West Regions. Regional differences in the number of youth in 1960 are summarized in table 4.

TABLE 4. Number of Youth Aged 15–19 and 20–24 for the United States, By Residence and Region, 1960 [a]

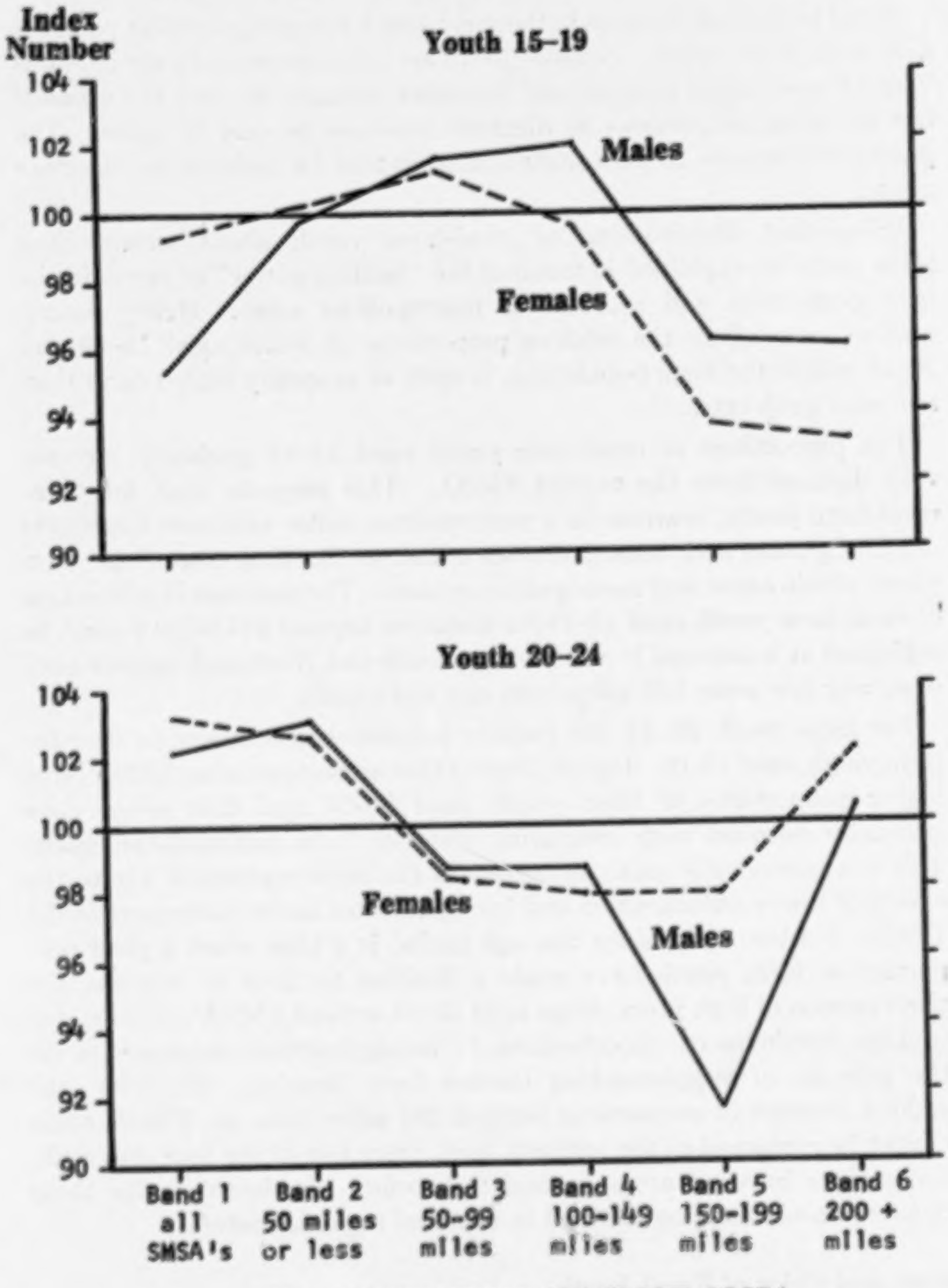
Region	Youth 15-19		Youth 20-24	
	Rural-nonfarm	Rural-farm	Rural-nonfarm	Rural-farm
Northeast	565,639	80,515	411,875	41,028
North Central	780,253	465,992	609,515	214,727
South	1,484,709	610,605	1,117,703	275,404
West	413,120	109,695	350,112	53,283

[a] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (14).

What is the "holding power" of the rural-farm population for its youth as distance from large urban centers increases? Proximity of white farm youth to large centers was investigated according to 50-mile distance bands from the nearest SMAS (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area). Band 1 contained all rural-farm white youth aged 15–19 and 20–24 residing within all SMSA's, band 2 contained those residing outside SMSA's but less than 50 miles from the nearest SMSA, band 3 contained those between 50 and 99 miles, etc. The last band comprised rural-farm white youth beyond 200 miles from the nearest SMSA. The proportion each age-sex group is of the total population (all age-sex groups combined) from which it came was computed, first for the Nation as a whole and then for each band distance. The results were converted to index numbers and plotted in figure 3. In this figure, a value of over 100 indicates that an age-sex group within a distance band is overrepresented compared to the proportion that age-sex group (aggregated for the whole Nation) is of the total population of the Nation. Likewise, a value under 100 indicates an under-representation.

Figure 3 shows that rural-farm white males, 15–19, are overrepresented (compared to rural-farm white males, 15–19, for the Nation as a whole) only in bands 3 and 4, i.e., in areas between 50 and 149 miles from the

Figure 3. Index numbers showing relative proportion of rural-farm white youth to national average. By distance from nearest SMSA. (Index numbers show over or under representation in relation to national average for rural-farm white youth, 15–19, males and females, and for rural-farm white youth, 20–24, males and females. A value of 100 indicates perfect representation.)*



* Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (14, private computations).

nearest metropolitan area. Overall, proportions increase with increasing distance from an SMSA, but beyond band 4 (149 miles) proportions decrease rapidly. In contrast, rural-farm white males aged 20–24 are overrepresented in bands 1 and 2 (in areas within 50 miles of an SMSA) and in band 6 (in areas beyond 200 miles from an SMSA). Generally, proportions decrease with increasing distance from an SMSA.

Rural-farm white females in the same youth age groups exhibit patterns akin to those of males. Females 15–19 are overrepresented only in bands 2 and 3 and reveal proportional increases through the first three bands but declining proportions as distance increases beyond 99 miles. The pattern for females 20–24 is quite similar to that for males in the same age group.

Differential distributions of rural-farm youth about metropolitan areas might be explained in terms of the "holding power" of youth in the farm population and nearness to metropolitan areas. Heavy outmigration rates affect the relative proportions of youth aged 15–19 and 20–24 within the farm population, in spite of generally higher farm than nonfarm birth rates.

The proportions of rural-farm youth aged 15–19 gradually increase with distance from the nearest SMSA. This suggests that for these rural-farm youth, nearness to a metropolitan center enhances the effects of outmigration and, thus, indicates a lack of "holding power" for farm youth within areas near metropolitan centers. The decrease in proportion of rural-farm youth aged 15–19 for distances beyond 149 miles cannot be explained at a national level since the South and Northeast regions have relatively few areas 150 miles from any metropolis.

For farm youth 20–24, the pattern is somewhat contrary to that for farm youth aged 15-19. Figure 3 shows that areas nearest an SMSA have higher proportions of farm youth aged 20–24 and that proportions gradually decrease with increasing distance from metropolitan areas. This is a numerically small age group in the farm population due to the effects of heavy outmigration and low birth rates in the latter part of the 1930's. Furthermore, since this age period is a time when a good proportion of farm youth have made a decision to farm or migrate, the phenomenon of high proportions aged 20–24 around SMSA's may be due to high employment opportunities in nonagricultural occupations for the purpose of supplementing income from farming. However, the sudden increase in proportions beyond 200 miles from an SMSA again cannot be explained at the national level, since two of the four geographical regions have no areas beyond this point. Explanations for these distance bands must be couched in terms of regional factors.

Race and Color of Rural Youth

Of the total 24 million persons aged 15–24 in the United States in 1960, approximately 21 million were white and about 3 million were nonwhite. Thus, 12.2 percent of American youth are nonwhite, a percentage slightly higher than the proportion of all nonwhite in the total American population. Of the 5.7 million rural-nonfarm youth, approximately 651,000, or 11.4 percent, are nonwhite; of the 1.8 million rural-farm youth, approximately 273,000, or 14.8 percent, are nonwhite. Additional data on race are given in tables 3 and 5.

While rural nonwhite youth 15 to 19 comprise 35.4 percent of all nonwhites in this age group, the percentage drops to 26.5 percent for the ages of 20–24. The outmigration of nonwhite youth from rural areas is evident from the percentages just cited. The number of rural-farm nonwhites aged 20–24 is less than half as large as those aged 15–19. A similar pattern occurs among the rural-farm white population.

TABLE 5. Number of Rural-nonfarm and Rural-farm Youth by Single Years of Age in the United States, by Color and Sex, 1960 [a]

United States, by rural residence and age	Whites		Nonwhites		Percent nonwhite	Males		Females		Males per 100 females
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Rural-nonfarm										
Youth 15-24	5,082,024	100.0	650,902	100.0	11.4	3,048,482	100.0	2,684,444	100.0	113.6
15 years old	624,034	12.3	86,655	13.3	12.2	371,080	12.2	339,609	12.6	109.3
16 years old	629,398	12.4	83,322	12.8	11.7	371,075	12.2	341,645	12.7	108.6
17 years old	628,158	12.4	81,007	12.4	11.4	373,457	12.2	335,708	12.5	111.2
18 years old	514,138	10.1	71,889	11.0	12.3	322,497	10.6	263,530	9.8	122.4
19 years old	461,170	9.1	63,950	9.8	12.2	290,472	9.5	234,648	8.7	123.8
20 years old	443,793	8.7	58,095	8.9	11.6	274,914	9.0	226,974	8.5	121.1
21 years old	440,847	8.7	53,053	8.1	10.7	265,484	8.7	228,416	8.5	116.2
22 years old	441,673	8.7	51,126	7.9	10.4	258,868	8.5	233,931	8.7	110.7
23 years old	448,444	8.8	50,670	7.8	10.2	263,702	8.6	235,412	8.8	112.0
24 years old	450,369	8.9	51,135	7.9	10.2	256,933	8.4	244,571	9.1	105.1
Rural-farm										
Youth 15-24	1,577,821	100.0	273,428	100.0	14.8	1,011,150	100.0	840,099	100.0	120.4
15 years old	258,979	16.4	44,227	16.2	14.6	159,630	15.8	143,576	17.1	111.2
16 years old	264,748	16.8	42,328	15.5	13.8	164,569	16.3	142,507	17.0	115.5
17 years old	253,653	16.1	41,164	15.1	14.0	160,016	15.8	134,801	16.0	118.7
18 years old	174,022	11.0	33,040	12.1	16.0	118,470	11.7	88,592	10.5	133.7
19 years old	128,666	8.2	25,980	9.5	16.8	88,863	8.8	65,783	7.8	135.1
20 years old	111,805	7.1	22,563	8.3	16.8	77,256	7.6	57,112	6.8	135.3
21 years old	104,943	6.7	18,166	6.6	14.8	69,986	6.9	53,123	6.3	131.7
22 years old	97,728	6.2	16,843	6.2	14.7	62,853	6.2	51,718	6.2	121.5
23 years old	91,188	5.8	14,590	5.3	13.8	55,635	5.5	50,143	6.0	111.0
24 years old	92,089	5.8	14,527	5.3	13.6	53,872	5.3	52,744	6.3	102.1

[a] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (15).

The data supplied in table 5 illuminate the process of outmigration from rural areas. For both whites and nonwhites residing in each of the rural residence categories, there is a general decline in numbers and percentages with increasing age. Net losses from the rural-farm population, for both whites and nonwhites, occur at a greater rate than from the rural-nonfarm population. The decline is most marked between ages 17 and 18 for both whites and nonwhites.

Sex Composition of Rural Youth

One of the striking characteristics of rural youth is the high ratio of males to females. For all youth aged 15–19 in 1960, the sex ratio was 101.7; for all youth aged 20–24 it was 95.7. For rural-nonfarm and rural-farm youth aged 15–19, however, the ratios were 114.2 and 120.0, respectively. For the two rural groups aged 20–24, the ratios were 113.4 and 118.5. Thus, rural youth differ markedly from urban youth in the large excess of males. In contrast, there is a marked excess of females among urban youth. (See tables 3 and 5.)

The high sex ratio among rural youth holds true for both whites and nonwhites. In general, however, the sex ratios among nonwhite youth are considerably lower than among white youth. In contrast to the white youth, the nonwhites exhibit highest ratios in the rural-nonfarm rather than rural-farm residence category.

The high sex ratio for each age from 15–24, shown in table 5, is evidence of the selective migration of females from both rural-farm and rural-nonfarm populations. The disparity between males and females is greatest at ages 18, 19, 20, and 21. As noted previously, the location of military bases and penal institutions in rural areas helps to raise the sex ratios for rural areas. Differences in the marital status of youth 15–19 and those 20–24 are large, as shown in table 6, especially when controlled for sex and color. Higher proportions of females than males are married in both age groups, regardless of residence and color. In the age group 15–19, 15.7 percent of all females in 1960 were married in contrast to only 3.8 percent of all males; in the age group 20–24, the percentages married were 69.5 percent and 45.8 percent, respectively.

TABLE 6. Percent of Youth 15–19 and 20–24 Married in the United States by Rural Residence, Sex, and Color, 1960 [a]

United States by rural residence and color	Percent married, by age and sex			
	Youth 15-19		Youth 20-24	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total United States:				
White	3.8	15.7	46.3	70.5
Nonwhite	3.7	15.8	42.0	62.2
Rural-nonfarm:				
White	4.1	18.9	47.6	80.9
Nonwhite	3.1	14.5	35.6	61.6
Rural-farm:				
White	2.5	10.6	33.9	71.2
Nonwhite	2.9	11.7	33.5	54.7

[a] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (15).

A small proportion of rural-farm white males in both age groups is married (2.5 and 33.9 percent). In contrast, a large proportion of rural-nonfarm white males is married (4.1 and 47.6 percent). Among nonwhite males the same situation prevails. Compared with the national average for the age group 15–19, a large proportion of rural-nonfarm white females and a small proportion of rural-farm white females are married. In the age group 20–24, however, the proportion of white females married among both rural groups is high. Nonwhite females in both rural residence groups exhibit smaller than average proportions married.

Selected Social and Economic Characteristics of Rural Youth

At each age between 14 and 24, lower proportions of rural than urban youth are enrolled in school, with greatest differences at the upper end of the age range. Between 6.7 and 15.5 percent of all 15-year-old youth were no longer enrolled in school. Nonenrollment was highest among rural-nonfarm nonwhite males and lowest among rural-farm white females. At least 60 percent of the 15 year old youth not in school had completed only elementary school or less.[1]

Table 7. Percent Youth in Labor Force for the United States, by Rural Residence, by Color, Sex, and Age, 1960 [a]

United States by rural residence and age	Percent in labor force, by color and sex					
	Total		Whites		Nonwhites	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total United States:						
14 and 15 years old	16.0	6.9	16.6	7.2	12.5	5.4
16 and 17 years old	36.8	20.8	37.9	21.8	28.8	14.0
18 and 19 years old	66.4	46.3	67.4	47.9	58.8	34.9
20-24 years old	86.2	44.8	86.8	44.7	82.0	45.5
Rural-nonfarm:						
14 and 15 years old	13.5	6.5	13.7	6.6	12.2	6.1
16 and 17 years old	33.6	16.4	34.2	16.9	29.2	12.7
18 and 19 years old	68.7	38.0	70.3	39.5	56.8	26.9
20-24 years old	87.9	35.0	89.2	34.9	77.0	35.7
Rural-farm:						
14 and 15 years old	22.6	6.8	23.1	6.8	19.5	7.1
16 and 17 years old	40.2	13.9	40.9	14.3	36.0	11.4
18 and 19 years old	69.2	36.1	70.9	39.4	59.5	21.2
20-24 years old	90.0	34.4	91.1	35.2	83.5	30.1

[a] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (15).

The progressive entry of youth into the labor force is depicted in table 7. For rural-farm males, labor force participation rises from 22.6 percent for those 14–15 years old to 90.0 percent for those 20–24 years old. For rural-nonfarm males, the participation rate is lower than rural-farm at every age. For rural-farm females, labor force participation rises from 6.8 percent for those 14–15 years old to 34.4 percent for those 20–24 years old. Rates for rural-nonfarm females are higher than those for rural-farm females for most ages. Differences in labor force participation are shown in table 7 for white and nonwhite youth as well.

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[1] Levels of educational attainment, rates of school enrollment, and rates of educational retardation are discussed in detail in Chapter 8, "Educational Status of Rural Youth," by Charles B. Nam and Mary G. Powers. Also see Cowhig (6 and 7).

An elementary picture of the average income of rural youth is given in table 8. With one exception, the median incomes for rural-nonfarm and rural-farm youth are considerably below national average for each of the age, color, and sex groups. The exception occurred for white rural-nonfarm males aged 14–19, whose median income of $725 matched that of all white youth their ages for the Nation. The most disadvantaged group, of course, is the rural-farm youth, especially the nonwhites.

TABLE 8. Median Income of Persons With Income in 1959 for the United States, by Age, Sex, Color, and Residence, 1960 [a]

United States by rural residence and color	Median income of persons with income in 1959			
	Youth 14-19		Youth 20-24	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total United States:				
Whites	$725	$704	$2,705	$1,815
Nonwhites	674	624	1,733	902
Rural-nonfarm:				
Whites	725	660	2,450	1,436
Nonwhites	627	555	1,320	644
Rural-farm:				
Whites	652	647	1,996	1,467
Nonwhites	566	536	788	575

[a] Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (15).

The Future of the Rural Population and Rural Youth

Not only is it difficult to make assertions about the rural population without reference to total population movements, but is is doubly hazardous to predict the future whether it be for the total population or any of its parts. Nonetheless, certain trends in process are unlikely to be reversed. Among such trends are:

1. The urbanization and centralization of population. This trend takes the form of growth in cities but especially in the surburban areas around them. Rates of population growth are much more rapid in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas than outside them. The rural-farm population has been declining for a number of years.

2. Movement to the west and to warm climate areas. Not only is the center of population moving westward and southward, the west is growing much more rapidly than the other regions of the Nation.
3. The increasing numbers of youth and growing national labor force. The high birth rates for the last two decades assure large additions to the labor force in the near future. Nonfarm employment in rural areas is not increasing fast enough to absorb rural youth coming of age, thus ensuring continued heavy outmigration from labor surplus areas.

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Chapter 2

Economic Bases and Potentials of Rural Communities

By Frank T. Bachmura, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economics, Indiana University; John H. Southern, M.S., Chief, Area Economic Development Branch, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture

RURALITY AS AN ECONOMIC CONCEPT

In earlier usage, rurality essentially denoted a sociological rather than an economic approach. More and more, however, the total economies and resources of rural areas and poeple are coming to the attention of economists. This newer focus emphasizes that the agricultural component of the rural economy is, despite its great importance, only a part of an even more important economic sector—the rural sector. Attempts to analyze the economic bases of rural areas quickly reveals the limitations of current economic information, both for today as well as for yesterday. Economists for example, frequently use an industry classification. Thus, while we do have good information about the agriculture industry and the agricultural sector, we do not have detailed information about the rest of the rural economy. For example, we can find information more readily about all manufacturing than about rural or urban manufacturing.

Moreover, residence areas and location of work or economic activities are not identical for many persons. Many persons living on what are officially defined as farms work in nonagricultural industry. On the other hand, some persons living in rural-nonfarm areas are engaged in the agricultural industry. This latter group includes farm laborers, whether migrant or not, and some subsistence farmers whose land holdings and income are too small to permit them to be officially defined as farmers.

Another limitation in studying the economics of rural communities stems from the definition of rurality used by the U.S. Census Bureau: places having 2,500 or more persons are defined as urban, and with only the exception of certain urban fringe areas, the rural population comprises the remainder of the total population. Also, differences between rural and urban areas are becoming less distinct. Certainly, the day of the isolated, self-sufficient rural community is going the way of homespun clothes and the horse-drawn plow. Moreover, from the practical point of view of economic analysis, it is useful to include communities well in excess of 2,500 persons for the study of rural-urban economic relationships. The criterion of rurality is arbitrary and dichotomous, whereas rural-urban relationships are best viewed as continuous.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF AGRICULTURE'S ROLE

Economists have long observed that a nation's dependence upon agriculture declines as its income rises and as its economic activities grow in volume and diversity. Economists usually describe it in terms of a reduced proportion of the labor force engaged in agriculture. Reduction in the proportion of the labor force engaged in agriculture must be distinguished from an absolute reduction in the agricultural labor force. Table 1 shows the historical trends in the relative size of the agricultural labor force among the States. Both sexes are included in the 1960 proportions. The agricultural labor force is now declining in absolute terms as well as relative terms in all States and for the Nation as a whole. These changes are large. The latest census (13, table 86) reports 4,256,000 persons employed in agriculture, 38.4 percent less than the 6,909,000 persons reported in 1950. The 1950–60 reduction is more than twice the 1940–50 rate of 18.2 percent. In the 20 years since 1940 agricultural employment has been cut in half. Illustrative of the increasing interdependency of our economy is the fact that almost one-half million (493,000) persons employed in agriculture live in urban, not rural, areas.

The decline in the agricultural labor force has important implications for rural youth. For many of them, economic opportunities in agriculture are limited. Rural youth more and more must look to nonagricultural activities to find job opportunities commensurate with their abilities and with those currently available for urban youth. The basic economic question is whether these opportunities can be provided for rural youth in or near the rural areas in which they now live or whether these opportunities must be developed in an urban setting, often many hundreds of miles removed.

Economically speaking, these two possibilities reflect two markets for productive services. A policy decision which seeks to increase the volume of nonagricultural economic activities in rural areas must look largely to the capital market. This is the market for investment funds, for credits, and the other services of financial intermediaries as well as the market for productive material assets. The alternative policy which would seek to provide jobs for rural youth in urban settings must largely emphasize the labor market; that is, the market for the economic services of people including place, hours, and conditions of work, including wage rates. Broadly conceived the labor market also considers capital investments in people for education and training which largely serve to structure labor markets by degree of skill.

TABLE 1. Census Year in Which Agricultural Employment Fell Below 25 Percent of Total, by States [a]

[Figures in parentheses are percentages of employment in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries as of 1960]

Date	Geographic region							
	Northeastern States		Southern States		North Central States		Western States	
1870 or earlier	Conn.	(1.8)						
	Mass.	(1.3)						
	N.J.	(1.5)						
	R.I.	(1.3)						
1880	N.Y.	(1.5)					Colo.	(7.8)
1890	Pa.	(2.7)					Nev.	(4.6)
1900	Md.	(3.5)						
	N.H.	(3.1)						
1910	Maine	(6.2)			Ill.	(4.4)	Ariz.	(8.1)
					Ohio	(3.7)	Calif.	(4.6)
							Wash.	(6.6)
1920	Del.	(5.2)	W. Va.	(4.4)	Mich.	(3.4)	Oreg.	(7.9)
1930			Fla.	(6.8)	Ind.	(6.5)	Utah	(6.0)
1940	Vt.	(11.9)	Va.	(7.8)	Mo.	(9.5)		
1950			Ala.	(9.8)	Kans.	(13.3)	Mont.	(17.7)
			Ga.	(9.2)	Minn.	(14.5)	N. Mex.	(7.3)
			Ky.	(14.2)	Wis.	(11.5)	Wyo.	(13.6)
			La.	(7.8)				
			N.C.	(13.0)				
			Okla.	(9.4)				
			Tenn.	(10.9)				
			Tex.	(8.8)				
1960			Ark.	(17.7)	Iowa	(20.7)	Idaho	(19.0)
			Miss.	(21.4)	Nebr.	(21.2)		
			S.C.	(11.9)				
Future					N. Dak.	(32.8)		
					S.Dak.	(30.6)		

[a] Sources: Kuznets and Thomas. (vol. I, table L-4) and U.S. Census of Population, (13, table 133).

THE ADVERSE POSITION OF RURAL AREAS

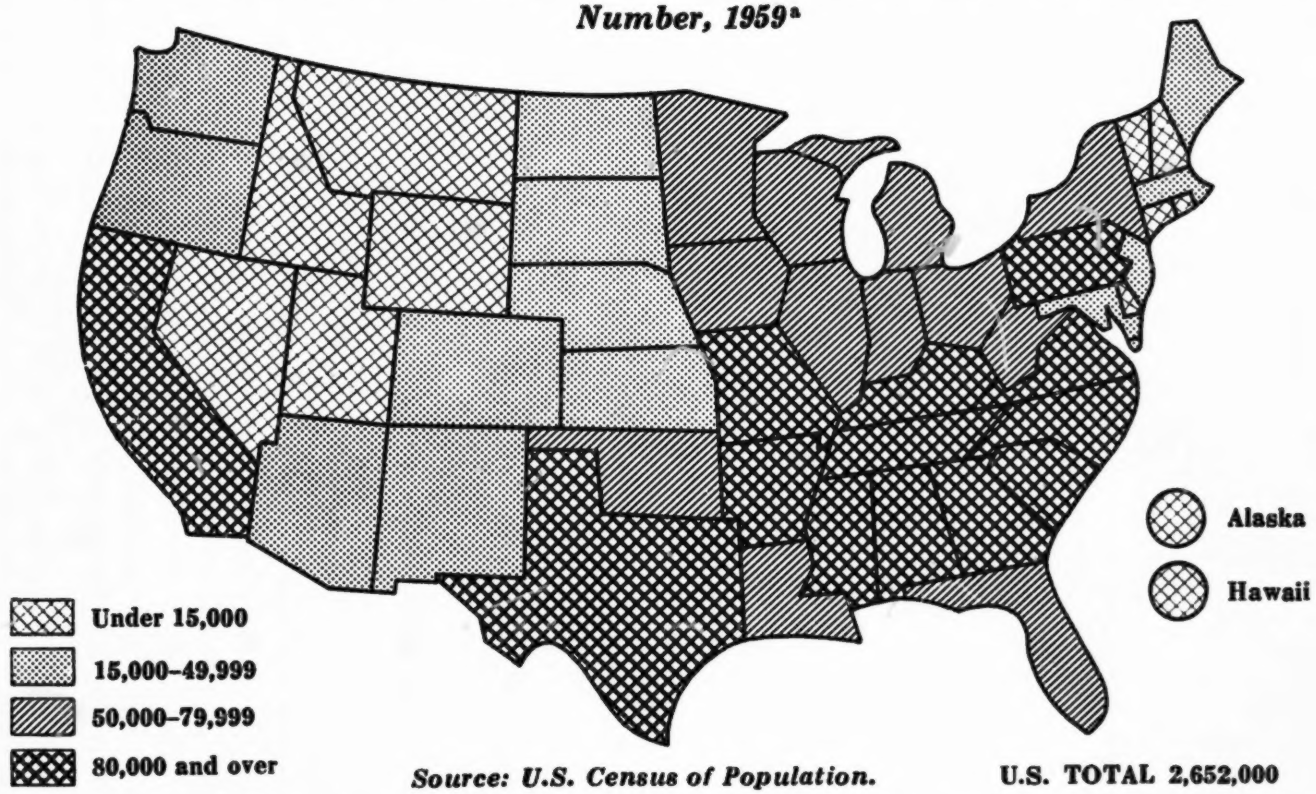
About 30 percent of the U.S. population is in rural ares. (13, table 42) This rural population is disadvantaged in numerous ways; level of income most clearly shows its economic disadvantages. The 1959 annual median income of urban families was $6,166 compared with $4,750 for rural nonfarm families and $3,228 for rural farm families. (13, table 95) Income differences of this magnitude cannot be explained in terms of the value of home products. Figure 1 graphically presents the geographic distribution of more than 2½ million low income rural people.

More explicit information based on a 10-percent sample of counties appears in table 2. There can be no doubt that incomes to rural people, especially to farm people, are disproportionately low. This means that an important segment of the U.S. population is well behind in receiving the fruits of our national economic development. They have, in many cases, not had the full opportunities others have enjoyed in making a maximum contribution to the productive output of our economy.

Figure 1.

RURAL WORK FORCE WITH NET ANNUAL INCOME UNDER $1,200

Number, 1959[a]


▨ Under 15,000
▨ 15,000–49,999
▨ 50,000–79,999
▨ 80,000 and over
Alaska
Hawaii

Source: U.S. Census of Population. U.S. TOTAL 2,652,000

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[a] Rural work force with incomes under $1,200 are defined by number of paid and unpaid family workers in families with less than $1,200 net annual cash incomes plus number of unrelated individuals with net annual cash incomes of less than $1,200 minus individuals 65 years of age and over and minus persons reported as unemployed in the conventional sense.

TABLE 2. Averages of County Median Income by Size of Major Community, 1959 [a]

Size of major community	Family median income			Rural and urban families with incomes of $3,000 or less
	Rural and urban	Rural	Rural farm	
	Dollars	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Percent*
0-2,499	3,445	3,456	3,004	44.9
2,500-4,999	3,698	3,392	3,109	40.8
5,000-9,999	4,230	3,766	3,207	34.9
10,000-24,999	4,500	4,079	3,495	30.1
25,000-50,000	5,288	4,883	4,272	22.1

[a] Source: U.S. Census of Population (13) tables 7, 36, 91, and 93.

Indeed, in many ways, rural people have to share a disproportionate burden of the costs and expenses, whether they be monetary or intangible.

Table 3 illustrates some of the reasons why the cost of economic progress falls so heavily upon rural people in the first place. The more rural a county is, the more likely it is to have lost population during the past decade. The completely rural counties lost almost 8 percent of their population during the past decade. This loss represents a decline in population equivalent to the natural population increase over the decade plus almost 8 percent of the population residing in the counties in 1950. In all, almost one-half of all U.S. counties lost population over the decade. Population losses mean that the fixed costs of government and social services have to be divided over a smaller and shrinking base. Per capita local government costs are higher in the rural counties. Such expenditures are 10 percent higher in the rural counties than in those with a larger urban center. These costs are not confined to public units; a similar cost is borne by many private concerns as well.

TABLE 3. County Rates of Population Change, 1950–60, and Average Local Government Expenditure, 1957, by Size of Major Community, by Counties [a]

Size of major community	Population change, 1950-60	Local governmental expenditure	
		Aggregate	Per capita
	Percent	*1,000 dollars*	*Dollars*
0-2,499	−7.6	995	142
2,500-4,999	−5.6	1,949	135
5,000-9,999	2.4	3,292	127
10,000-24,999	15.6	5,411	129
25,000-50,000	23.9	10,662	129

[a] Source: U.S. Census of Population (13, tables 6 and 7); and U.S. Bureau of the Census (12, table 2, item 80).

Moreover, as counties become more rural, there is a tendency for the dependency ratio to increase. This dependency ratio can be described as the ratio of persons under 18 and over 65 relative to the population in the productive ages from 18 to 64 (table 4). Particularly burdensome in rural areas is the incidence of childhood dependency, which is a direct outgrowth of high fertility ratios. Rural areas never fully regain investments made on either a private or a public basis in their youth, since large proportions leave for urban centers. As shown in table 4, the proportion of the population in productive ages increases as areas become more urban, whereas an opposite tendency occurs for persons in retirement ages. A similar measure of dependency burden is the nonworker ratio presented in table 5. The nonworker ratio is fully 20 percent higher for the rural counties than for the nonmetropolitan urban counties.

TABLE 4. County Age Distribution and Dependency Ratio by Size of Major Community [a]

Size of major community	Population			Ratio of those over 65 and under 18 to those 18-64
	Under 18	18-64	65 and over	
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	
0-2,499	38.7	50.1	11.2	.996
2,500-4,999	37.1	50.5	12.4	.980
5,000-9,999	37.2	51.9	11.0	.929
10,000-24,999	36.6	52.7	10.7	.897
25,000-50,000	36.7	54.3	9.0	.841

[a] Source: U.S. Census of Population (13, tables 7 and 13).

In addition, rural women have less opportunity for gainful employment than do urban women. Table 5 also shows that almost 27 percent of the females in the most rural counties were in the labor force as compared with almost 33 percent for counties with cities having between 25,000 and 50,000 persons. Moreover, the proportion of workers who work a full year is also lower in rural counties.

TABLE 5. County Labor Force Characteristics by Size of Major Community, 1959 [a]

Size of major community	Nonworker ratio	Females in labor force	Workers working 50-52 weeks	Workers working outside county
		Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
0-2,499	2.00	26.6	51.6	13.2
2,500-4,999	1.88	27.8	53.5	12.1
5,000-9,999	1.77	31.0	52.9	11.7
10,000-24,999	1.75	31.9	51.2	11.8
25,000-50,000	1.60	32.9	57.2	8.8

[a] Source: U.S. Census of Population (13, tables 7 and 26).

These factors contribute to the lower earning opportunities for rural communities and dim their outlook for providing future opportunities for rural youth. In addition, the worker in a rural county is more likely to work outside that county than is true in more urban counties. Although this may in part reflect residential preference rather than lack of local opportunity, the lower income position of rural counties suggests that most persons work outside the county because local opportunities are not available.

If a rural youth, or an adult for that matter, seeks to improve his personal economic position through outmigration, he confronts many institutional impediments, both public and private. In general, a rural migrant usually is a residual claimant for urban employment. To illustrate, most large employers in an industrial community utilize a seniority system for hiring and firing, sometimes enforced by collective bargaining, sometimes not. If persons are laid off at the time a migrant applies for a job, he must wait until the roster of laid off persons is exhausted before his application will be considered. However, it is unusual for a rural person to know exactly when the seniority lists have been exhausted and when more hiring is to take place. This means that a considerable portion of new job openings will be first claimed by persons who are already on the scene—for example, relatives and friends of persons employed in the general area. Generally, only the harder to fill positions and/or the least attractive ones will be open for the rural migrant. Sometimes, too, jobs are rationed on the basis of formal school completion. To the extent this occurs, many rural migrants are further disadvantaged, especially when labor demand slackens, because of their low educational attainment.

Thus, many rural youth are disadvantaged economically, whether they stay where they are or whether they move to a more distant community. In either case, the economically disadvantaged underwrite an important portion of economic progress. They must either finance their movements to a distant center, and thereby help the labor market function more adequately, or, if they stay, they must bear a larger and larger share of operating their community activities in their own local area. Perhaps the highest cost of all is borne by those youth who leave rural areas, only to find no available jobs in the new community. The plight of such people has been amply described in *Social Dynamite* (11).

THE POPULATION FACTOR—EDUCATION

Rural individuals by and large receive less formal education than do urban persons. In 1960 the median years of education for persons 25 years of age or older was 9.2 for those living in completely rural counties in contrast to 10.6 for those living in counties with urban centers having between 25,000 and 50,000 persons. Moreover, there continues to be a considerable number of functionally illiterate in the rural population.

Formally, functional illiteracy is defined by having less than 5 years of education. In practice, it means that persons cannot follow written instructions.

Economic evidence overwhelmingly justifies investments in education. Returns to educational investments are so large that such an investment, even in a person of 60, is economically sound (2). This being so, the economic justification of such an investment in a youth is multiplied many, many times. Even if the formal measures of school attendance and attainments were the same for rural as for urban people, there still would be a considerable disparity because of differences in the scope and quality of rural versus urban educational systems. Other papers treat education in detail and still others consider the relationship of various Federal educational and training programs to rural needs. We wish to comment only on the feature of the Manpower Development and Training Act that provides training eligibility for persons in farm families netting less than $1,200 cash income annually. Figure 1 gives an idea of the national distribution of rural persons of working age, both farm and nonfarm, meeting the $1,200 criterion (1).

THE POPULATION FACTOR—INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE

Rural communities continue to have a close connection with agriculture, but large and increasing numbers of rural persons are employed outside of agriculture. Only 60 percent of employed persons in the farm population are engaged in agriculture; the biggest industry classification other than agriculture is manufacturing. Only about 8 percent of the rural nonfarm population is employed in agriculture, and about 28 percent are engaged in manufacturing. Almost equal proportions (28 percent) of the rural nonfarm and urban labor force are engaged in manufacturing.

Despite the fact of considerable nonagricultural employment among rural people, there continue to be at least two unfortunate corollaries to rural area employment. One is that most nonagricultural employment opportunities available in rural areas pay less than those available in urban areas; the other is that underemployment is far greater than that recognized by national and State statistical series. Department of Agriculture economists have estimated that the volume of rural farm male underemployment (5) in the United States exceeds 1 million man-equivalents of unemployment.

THE POPULATION FACTOR—ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

Certain institutional arrangements limit employment alternatives. These include minimum wage laws, industry-wide collective bargaining, and similar practices which affect the downward flexibility of wages and the volume of employment. We have argued that rural persons frequently come into the nonagricultural labor force as residual claimants. Moreover, the real incomes of rural persons are considerably below those in urban communities. Essentially this means that there are many rural people who, if there were free entry to many occupations, might offer their services for lower than prevailing wages. This is a classic example of the downward inflexibility of wage rates, which economists have emphasized as being contributory to unemployment.

Economic theory in the past generation has emphasized that appropriate monetary, tax, and expenditure policies can generate additional employment, despite the downward inflexibility of wage rates. But some evidence now suggests that it is possible to raise wages over a broad spectrum more rapidly than it is possible to expand effective demand through monetary, taxation, and expenditure policies of the Government (7). This tendency is especially important to the rural person, because if wage rates are once set too high in terms of effective demand, then there are strong institutional barriers to their downward flexibility. It may be difficult to reduce them sufficiently rapidly to generate a volume of employment which will be large enough to provide adequate employment for low income rural workers.

Because most persons believe that basic institutions regarding minimum wages, industry-wide collective bargaining, and general management practice cannot be changed, they frequently recommend attention be given to capital policies instead. One of these policies can be regarded as the investment in education. Investments in education are at least as productive as investments in tangible capital and represent an outstanding way in which labor in rural areas can improve its employability, both for short- and long-term prospects.

CAPITAL FACTOR CONSIDERATIONS

Although more rural people are engaged in manufacturing than in agriculture, it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the amount of manufacturing capital invested in rural areas. Most such analyses are not made on the basis of residential or population strata, but are made on the basis of industrial sectors, as agriculture, manufacturing, and so on. Only in agriculture do we have meaningful estimates of the capital investment which can be safely attributed to the rural sector.

National investment in agriculture has been reported regularly by the Department of Agriculture in its Balance Sheet of Agriculture (4). As of January 1, 1963, $217 billion was invested in American agriculture. All but 14 percent of this represented the equity of proprietors, their total liabilities amounting to $30 billion. This relationship of liabilities to assets upholds the idea that capital stringencies in agriculture have become less and less important over the years. This achievement results from both public and private programs designed to provide adequate capital to farmers, but the same claim cannot be made for nonagricultural investments in rural areas. One item in the Balance Sheet of Agriculture deserves special attention, namely, farmer household holdings of $4.8

billion worth of U.S. savings bonds. The implication of this asset holding is examined later in terms of the availability of the services of financial intermediaries in rural areas.

The most recent information regarding national assets was developed by Kuznets for the year 1949 (8). In that year, the National Bureau of Economic Research estimated total U.S. assets to be $2,016 billion. In the same year, the Balance Sheet of Agriculture showed that agricultural assets amounted to $134 billion, leaving $1,882 billion as nonagricultural assets (4). This figure cannot be divided precisely between the rural and urban sectors, but the bulk of it is in the urban sector.

For example, table 6 shows that per capita bank deposits increase directly with the size of the largest place in counties, at least up to counties having a city under 25,000 population. Lower per capita bank deposits represent a disadvantage for rural communities. In addition, the absolute amount of bank deposits in rural counties is much reduced relative to the volume available elsewhere. Because many commercial uses for bank credit are directly related to the volume of deposits, reduced capital availability becomes a further handicap to the nonagricultural development in rural communities. Although commercial bank credit is not the sole source of capital in smaller communities, and although it generally is available only for short-term capital investments, it constitutes an important index of capital availability.

TABLE 6. County Capital Availability by Size of Major Community, 1959 [a]

Size of major community	Commercial bank deposits		Local government debt, 1958		Local government expenditure to local government debt, 1958
	Aggregate	Per capita	Aggregate	Per capita	
	Thousand dollars	*Dollars*	*Thousand dollars*	*Dollars*	*Ratio*
0-2,499	5,264	739	712	95	0.67
2,500-4,999	11,210	783	1,454	109	1.34
5,000-9,999	19,128	787	3,309	131	1.00
10,000-24,999	35,587	836	6,466	149	0.84
25,000-50,000	75,606	553	12,413	157	0.86

[a] Source: U.S. Census of Population (13, tables 6 and 7); and U.S. Bureau of the Census (12, table 2, items 73, 80, and 82).

In similar vein, longer term capital accruing to public sources also is more restricted in rural communities. On a per capita basis, local government expenditures in rural counties are higher than in the more urban counties within the range studied (table 3). However, per capita public debt in rural counties amounted to $95 as against $157 for communities with 25,000 to 50,000 population. The aggregate amount of public debt increases even more rapidly than does per capita debt (table 6). These observations suggest two things. One is that for the nonmetropolitan counties considered, the per capita government expenditure burden is quite high, particularly when compared with the percentage of the population of working age. In the most rural communities local governmental expenses per family would be even higher than indicated. Moreover, many demographers expect that populations in many rural areas will continue to decline, probably more rapidly than the level of governmental expenditure. Secondly, the low public debt outstanding in these areas suggests that a much larger proportion of public expenditure is handled on a current, rather than a funded basis. Even when backed by the taxing power of individual communities, rural areas have significant problems with respect to capital formation.

To test this assumption, we computed correlates by geographic regions and States for relationships between rurality and certain indices of availability of capital. On a State basis, almost all types of financial intermediaries had less capital available in the more rural States (table 7). Moreover, this was also true when bank deposits were converted to a per capita basis. Little change occurred in this relationship over a 50-year period.

TABLE 7. Coefficients of Rank Correlation (rho) Relating Percentage of Population Rural, 1960, and Various Measures of Capital Availability [a]

Item and year	9 census geographic regions	48 States
Percentage of resources, 1949 (United States = 100):		
Commercial bank deposits—demand	−0.583	**−0.459
other		**−.497
Postal savings system deposits	−.266	−.250
Credit union assets	*−.700	**−.613
Personal trust department assets	−.567	**−.596
Savings and loan association assets	−.517	**−.535
Life insurance reserves	−.404	**−.514
State and local unemployment compensation and retirement fund assets	−.600	**−.499
Management investment companies	**−.817	**−.597
Total	*−.629	NA
Commercial and savings bank deposits:		
Per 100,000 inhabitants:		
1900	**−.796	**−.509
1929	**−.867	**−.570
1949	**−.917	**−.531
Per $100 million income:		
1929	**−.377	**−.750
1949	−.275	**−.783
Small Business Administration loans:		
Cumulative value of loans approved to Mar. 31, 1963	−.267	**−.435

* Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

** Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

[a] Source: U.S. Census of Population (13, table 19); Goldsmith (6, tables 19 and 20); and Small Business Administration (15).

Moreover, despite the great service the Small Business Administration has rendered in rural areas, the aggregate volume of its loans since the inception of the program relates inversely to rural population. The SBA's direct loans during the latest fiscal year show a more advantageous relation for rural and small town areas of about $0.75 per capita as compared with $0.30 per capita in the 25,000–50,000 category. Participation loans were even more important ($5.46 vs. $1.46 per capita) (15).

There is increasing evidence to suggest that there is a net outflow of funds from rural areas rather than otherwise. The role of financial intermediaries is important in the formation of capital which, in turn, is basic to expansion of economic opportunities. The implications for employment of rural youth are obvious.

All too often, rural communities interested in local industrialization think exclusively in terms of the reinvested earnings of major corporations. Although this is a source of capital which should not be overlooked, the fact remains that only a small portion of total capital expenditures in manufacturing industries is made in rural counties. Thus, for the sample of rural counties (table 8), new capital expenditures in 1958 amounted to $111,000 at a time when $8,211 million were expended in a smaller number of counties with population centers between 25,000 and 50,000 persons. On a per capita basis, there is about a tenfold difference between the most urban category shown (25,000–50,000) and the rural counties. On the basis of per worker in manufacturing, the difference is almost fourfold, indicating a lower rate of investment per worker in manufacturing industries in rural areas as compared with these elsewhere.

CAPITAL FACTOR—LOCATION AND OWNERSHIP

Detailed calculations made by Professor Kuznets (9) provide a basis for relating wealth and rurality. Kuznets has developed estimates of

Table 8. New Capital Expenditures by Manufacturers, 1958, and Social Security Benefits, 1962, by Size of Major Community, Counties, 1959 [a]

Size of major community	New capital expenditures, 1958			Social security benefits, 1962	
	Aggregate	Per capita	Per employee in manufacturing	Total	Per capita
	1,000 dollars	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*1,000 dollars*	*Dollars*
0–2,499	111	13	334	53	54
2,500–4,999	263	15	374	106	56
5,000–9,999	747	24	406	169	57
10,000–24,999	1,470	30	526	277	60
25,000–50,000	8,211	123	1,281	502	64

[a] Source: U.S. Census of Population (13, tables 6 and 7); U.S. Bureau of the Census (12, table 2, items 89 and 95), and U.S. Social Security Administration (14).

total wealth and nonagricultural wealth by both location and ownership. Our analysis (table 9) of his State and regional data shows an inverse relationship between both total wealth and total nonagricultural wealth and rurality of population in the States and regions. Geographical location of capital assets, except for agriculture, is concentrated in more urban areas. The location of agricultural wealth is not related significantly with the degree of rurality, but is essentially evenly distributed. The geographical distribution of wealth ownership is even more adverse to the interests of rural and smalltown areas.

Availability of risk capital and the personal ownership of assets also are adversely located with respect to rural and smalltown areas. Lampman's (10) analysis of the top wealth holders in the United States confirms this inference. Total values of estates by regions are inversely and significantly associated with rurality (table 9). This relationship is further demonstrated if the analysis is based on State, rather than national data. With State data, inverse relationships appear between rurality and per capita value of estate tax returns, even when standardized for the aggregate value of income (table 9).

TABLE 9. Coefficients of Rank Correlation (rho) Relating Percentage of Population Rural, 1960, and Various Measures of Wealth Distribution [a]

Item and year	9 census geographic regions	48 States
1919–21 average:		
Total wealth by location	−0.556	**−0.368
Total wealth by ownership	−.600	**−.474
Total agricultural wealth by location	.150	.031
Total nonagricultural wealth by location	−.500	**−.466
Total nonagricultural wealth by ownership	**−.733	**−.603
1949, 1950, 1953, and 1954 combined:		
Aggregate gross value of taxable estate	*−.667	**−.627
Total estate tax returns per capita (1953)	−.567	**−.361
Aggregate gross value of taxable estates per dollar of income payments (1953)	−.588	**−.395

* Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

** Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

[a] Sources: Kuznets and Thomas (9, table 4.6); Lampman (10, table 57); and U.S. Census of Population (13, table 19).

Transfer payments in the public sector also increase both in the aggregate and on a per capita basis with increasing urbanity. These relationships are shown by amounts of social security payments shown in the last two columns in table 8. For example, the average payment to persons benefited in counties with a city in the 25,000 to 50,000 class is $64 per month as against $54 per month for completely rural counties—a difference of about 20 percent. Payments from both property income and transfer payments are directed in such a way as to disadvantage the rural and smalltown sector of the economy. This adverse flow, together with some of the imperfections in services provided by financial intermediaries, points to a very serious capital availability problem for rural areas. Even though agricultural capital availability may be generally adequate, nonagricultural capital availability in rural and smalltown areas generally is inadequate. Such beneficial governmental policies as preferential reserve requirements for country banks, the Small Business Administration, and the Area Redevelopment Administration, although helpful, have not been able to rectify this unfortunate tendency. Their programs and benefits may not be sufficient to solve the problem.

POTENTIALS FOR RURAL ECONOMIC GROWTH

We have looked at the basic institutional structure affecting both the labor and capital markets of rural and smalltown areas. These institutional inflexibilities will not be solved easily or quickly. Rural development problems are complicated further by the existing distribution of wealth which favors States and areas with more adequate supplies of investment capital, whether held by persons or institutions.

Many economists recognize the need for expansionary economic policies to augment the demand for goods and services which will stimulate the demand for labor. These policies favor activities of the banking system, "pump priming" or deficit financing based on a combination of taxation and expenditure policies by the Federal Government. However, the history of active expansionary monetary and fiscal policies is now a generation old and there are at least the equivalent of more than 1 million unemployed persons in U.S. agriculture alone, not to mention 1½ million underemployed and unemployed in the nonagricultural rural sector. Attention might well be focused on the maximum rate of wage rate increase which may accompany a given expansionary dosage in our economy and still generate an increase in aggregate employment. Such wage rate increases are almost axiomatically inflexible downwards and, once instituted, tend to require still another expansionary dose. The cumulative nature of such dosages taken with the cumulative rise in wage rates postpones the prospect of providing adequate employment opportunities for rural youth. In effect, these youth face a continually receding horizon with respect to job opportunities.

It is for this reason that the prospects for economic growth are so important in providing a solution to the problem of redundant labor in rural areas. Edward Denison (3) suggests that the process of increasing the growth rate in the United States is much more difficult than appeared possible only a few years ago. Fuller utilizing of redundant labor in rural areas and education and training of undereducated persons in rural and smalltown areas represent potential contributions to national economic growth. In addition, agricultural reorganization which will release still more of the underemployed and unemployed in rural labor will allow these workers to make a greater contribution to economic production and growth in other sectors.

Fortunately for rural areas, manufacturing and other nonagricultural industries, other than mining, are usually not as restricted in place of location as is agriculture. Therefore capital directed into rural areas will increase rural employment opportunities. Rural industrialization programs, however, must include investment in education and training. It is important for those concerned with the opportunities for rural youth to be aware of the need for training in anticipation of job openings, rather than training after an opening appears. Without prior training, rural youth will be even more greatly disadvantaged in securing and keeping employment. Furthermore, if jobs are not filled immediately, there is a short-run upward pressure upon wage rates which, in effect, may become frozen. Most important for rural people is the increased likelihood that jobs will be filled by urban rather than rural persons, if the rural person is not already trained.

A commendatory example of training for rural youth is underway in North Carolina. Under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act, the Governor's office is establishing three regional rural youth training and remedial education centers, with counseling and testing services. This project, which will handle approximately 600 young people, constitutes an important forward step in utilizing this act for rural persons. Conspicuously, the benefits of this act have been underused in rural areas.

Although this chapter emphasizes the human aspect of the rural resource picture, we recognize that even if only one-third of the U.S. population lives in rural areas, over 95 percent of the geographic area of the Nation is rural. The economic potential of rural areas must capitalize upon resources in such areas. However, we have emphasized that the important employment sectors in manufacturing as well as some services are increasingly flexible with respect to location. Their proximity to consumers becomes more important in many situations than the location of the raw materials used in production. Nonetheless, rural areas are particularly well adapted for manufacturing industries related to the processing of food, fibers, and forest products. In addition, among service industries, recreational opportunities will be increasingly important as incomes and leisure continue to increase. The continuing reduction of time-cost factors in transportation stemming from the construction of interstate highway systems and of the development of river systems for bulk transport, also favor further rural economic development.

Persons who are concerned with the economic development of rural areas and the future of youth in rural areas must avoid any sentimentality or traditionalism in viewing the reduced importance in employment in agriculture. Persons held in situations of poor productivity ultimately will remain at low incomes. The reduction of the labor force in agriculture has been underway for at least a century. The fact that there are already more rural persons engaged in manufacturing than in agriculture is auspicious for the future of rural and smalltown areas and youth. It will be a continuing challenge to see that these youth are not handicapped by a nostalgic and even mythical conception of rural areas.

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Chapter 3

Family Backgrounds of Rural Youth

By James H. Copp, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Rural Sociology, Pennsylvania State University

Although there has been much research on marriage and the family, comparatively little attention has been given to the family as a social unit. This is particularly true for the rural family.[1] Consequently this paper on the bearing of the rural family matrix for its youth should be viewed as a preface to the more detailed investigations required. Despite the paucity of research studies, there are certain general observations which can be made about the family situation of those 54 million people who are technically classified as "rural."[2] It is maintained that these considerations are significant in that they set the broad outlines of the family context of rural youth.

COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL FAMILIES

Possibly the most important, and also the most overlooked, observation that can be made about the family backgrounds of close to one-third of the Nation's youth is the great diversity of environments encompassed by the term "rural." Rural does not necessarily mean farm; only one quarter of the people living in rural areas are truly farm people.[3] The remainder of the people are living in small towns, villages, hamlets, residential subdivisions, strip settlements along roads, and isolated dwellings scattered over the countryside. But it is also necessary to distinguish between families living on large commercial farms and families living on small-scale subsistence farms and to differentiate families not living on farms. Finally, it is necessary to make distinctions with respect to race; about one-tenth of the rural families in the United States are nonwhite.[4] In other words, there is no such thing as "the rural family," but there are rural families differing in social class, residence, and race.

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[1] Burchinal (7) also comments on the scarcity of information on rural family structure and processes. An outstanding example of the kind of research needed is James S. Brown's studies of the Kentucky mountain family (4, 5). Zimmerman and Frampton's portrayal of Ozark Highlander families (25) still stands as a point of departure for the type of research required.

[2] The 1960 U.S. Census of Population reported 54,054,425 people as rural. The Bureau of the Census classifies that part of the population rural which lives in places of less than 2,500 persons and beyond the compactly built-up areas surrounding our large cities (22, p. xii).

[3] In April 1962, the farm population was estimated to be 14.3 million, a decline of 1.3 million since 1960 (20).

Despite this great diversity, most rural families share certain common characteristics. They live in more isolated, less densely populated areas. They live in areas of relative population decline.[5] The pace of life is a little more leisurely and traditional orientations persist longer than in the city. People have less knowledge about and experience with urban job markets and occupational structures. Levels of income and educational attainment are lower. Put bluntly, youth from such communities are less well fitted for successful competition in our modern, urbanized society than their urban counterparts.

ALLEGED RURAL VIRTUES

Before developing the details of this argument, some attention should be given to the raw material, the rural youth themselves. There is still a good deal of latent sentiment favoring the superiority of country youth, physically and morally. We still hear the argument that our rural population should be protected because of certain values and genetic traits which rural people are supposed to possess.

There is no clear-cut evidence that rural people are physically and mentally superior to urban people. In fact, there is strong evidence in the opposite direction. Perhaps the greatest shock to the notion of rural physical superiority occurred during World War II, when it was discovered that the proportion of Selective Service rejections for physical and mental deficiencies was higher in rural than urban areas. Other studies have pointed to the higher proportion of unmet medical and dental needs among rural people.[6] Studies of comparative intelligence typically find that country children have lower I.Q.'s than urban children.[7] Admittedly intelligence tests are culture-bound, but they are biased toward the culture in which the rural child will have to compete in adult life.

Also, there seems to be little evidence that country families are producing youth whose occupational achievement matches that of urban-reared youth. The evidence points in the opposite direction. Here it should be pointed out that farm youth handicap their occupational achievement by not foreseeing nonagricultural employment (6). Furthermore, some of the qualities alleged to be more prevalent among rural youth, are less appropriate for mobility in our contemporary urban-industrial society than they were a century ago.

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[4] In 1960 the U.S. Census reported 6.05 million nonwhite persons living in rural areas (23, p. 360). The rural Negro population is expected to continue to decline rapidly through migration to urban areas.

[5] From 1950 to 1960, the rural population declined by 0.8 percent, while the population in urban areas increased by 29.3 percent (2, p. 12).

[6] Loomis and Beegle summarize the present relative health of rural people as follows (12, p. 760): "Despite the natural advantages of rural life, in many respects rural people in the United States are less healthy than urban. In general, the mortality statistics and draft rejection rates indicate that the advantages rural areas once had no longer exist or are disappearing. This condition is to be explained by the fact that with respect to personnel and prevention in the healing arts, the rural areas are disadvantaged when compared with the urban areas."

[7] "The fact that country children as a group score distinctly below the norms on current intelligence tests has been repeatedly demonstrated. Numerous investigations, some employing several thousand children and covering practically complete school populations, have consistently revealed the inferior performance of rural children in all parts of the United States" (1, pp. 815–816).

Be that as it may, there seems to be a stereotype of the rural character. The rural person is often portrayed as something of a "noble savage." He is portrayed as hard working, self-reliant, honest, thrifty, prudent, temperate, God-fearing, etc. However, the sturdy yeoman is only one type of rural personality—the type most likely to succeed in the 19th century urban world. There have always been other types of families in rural areas. There has always been and there still is the dull, the shiftless, the immoral, the intemperate, the irreligious rural person. These other types of people failed to produce descendants who went to college and wrote books about our rural heritage.

Thus the rural family has been selectively portrayed by the people from the "good" families. The New Englander, the southern yeoman, and the midwestern entrepreneur have been portrayed as the typical rural person. Chances are his family had very little contact with the Snopeses, the folks on Tobacco Road, or the Shantytown dwellers. These other types of people were not socially real to the people who staffed the communication system and reported on rural life. The sturdy yeoman farmer and his kin are still found in great numbers in rural areas and continue to make an invaluable contribution to rural society. The only point I wish to make is that there are other, less apparent, though very numerous, types of rural families with which we also should be concerned. In fact, if the yeoman farm families were the only kind of rural people we had, there would be little need for a "National Conference on Problems of Rural Youth."

IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL YOUTH

Several of the features generally common to rural families deserve more detailed discussion. One of these is the greater spatial isolation and relatively low population density characteristic of rural areas. These circumstances mean that the rural person is a little harder to reach from the communication and power centers. Because of this basic ecological condition, rural areas generally have lagged in terms of the great societal changes which have taken place in history. There are other consequences, too. Rural areas generally are inadequately serviced in terms of education, communications, utilities, and medical care. In many rural-urban comparisons rural areas are inferior because of the greater cost of providing services to a less compactly settled population.

The low population density of rural areas leads to another interesting consequence for the social life of rural youth. There are fewer opportunities for spontaneous interaction within walking distance. Less of the rural youth's time is spent with the peer group gang. On farms the daytime hours are spent in work. The work emphasis also seems to be strong among nonfarm adolescents. Spatial isolation and low density of homes means that the automobile is very important, almost indispensable, for the peer group activity of rural youth.

Because of reduced contact with outsiders, the close association of work and residence, and the allocation of work among family members (3), rural families have been characterized as familistic (15). The importance of this trait among American rural families has probably been exaggerated. Recently, a considerable amount of familism has been rediscovered in urban areas (11, 16, 17). It still seems to be true, however, that rural people are more familistic.[8] Familism can be an important deterrent to migration to places of better job opportunities, for both urban and rural people.[9]

There is another characteristic rural feature which a low population density permits. Rural people are less hedged in by legal rules and regulations. The difference becomes apparent when a rural area becomes suburbanized and people are forced to adopt street lights, paved roads, zoning, sewerage, and speed limits (9). The rural person is freer from the restrictions framing our modern urban way of life. The rural youth is socialized in an environment controlled more by how the neighbors will react than by what the regulations say. Thus the rural youth is less prepared and less sympathetic with the fine points of a highly regulated society.

Another general and important observation which can be made about the rural population is that it tends to be a low income population. The current income for farm families is only a little more than half that for nonfarm families (21, table 9). Nonwhite farm families have a median income which is less than half that of white farm families. Rural nonfarm families also have lower median incomes than urban families—in general, it is about three-quarters as large as urban income (22, table 225). Not only are incomes lower, but families are larger.[10] In other words, rural youth grow up in family environments where income levels are limited and material levels of living are at a lower scale than the average for urban areas. The rural youth tends to be socialized as a low income person.

Given the foregoing two characteristics of rural families discussed above, disadvantages of location and income, a third characteristic emerges as a consequence—rural areas are characteristically areas of static or declining population. They are areas showing a net outmigration; more people move out than move into these areas. The fact that the residents of these areas tend to be oldtimers and that few new people move in leads to a number of interesting social and psychological consequences (8).

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[8] A master's thesis in preparation at Pennsylvania State University by Peter L. Heller finds that farm, village, smalltown, and urban college students do differ significantly, and in that order, on a measure of familism, but that residence accounts for only a small fraction of the variation in familism. It is of interest to note that familism increases among Penn State students coming from Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

[9] Observations made during field work in a recent study in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County suggests that family ties and the accommodation of the wife to unemployment status are powerful deterrents to the migration of the unemployed, even when job opportunities are known to exist elsewhere.

[10] As degree of rurality increases, size of family increases; also there are, on the average, more members in the nonwhite rural farm family than in the nonwhite urban family (23, table 187).

Given low inmigration, even though outmigration may be high, the people who remain tend to become highly interrelated. Certain family surnames tend to predominate. Community schisms frequently develop along kinship lines. Low inmigration places the kinship group in a more powerful position than in areas where there is high inmigration.

Another consequence of low inmigration is the standardization of taste, usage, and outlook. The assumptions and values of the elders are less frequently challenged. Old ideas are not exposed to the questioning of newcomers because there are no newcomers. It is possible that the young people who stay in rural areas find little objectionable in traditional standards—they can live with it; perhaps the people who can't are the ones who leave. Actually little is known, much careful research is required to document the selectivity of values in migration.[11]

A third consequence of a net loss in migration in a community is psychological. The dominant emotional tone tends to become pessimistic and backward-looking, as trade centers decline and the young people leave. A sense of defeatism and alienation pervades the community. The interest in community improvement lessens. People perceive that the forces for change are out of their hands. This anomic situation holds in many of our communities today. The strength of traditional social controls may be reduced. Members of the remaining families, the Snopes, fill in the power vacuum left by the migration of the elite or the unwillingness of the elite to serve in positions of community responsibility.

Another important attribute shared by most rural families is a Protestant tradition. This does not mean that rural people are church people—only about half of them are. People in villages are more often church people than those on farms. Women are more often members than men. Attachment to the church is to a local neighborhood institution rather than to a denomination or larger entity (8).

Religious beliefs tend to be fundamental, church organization democratic, and outlets emotional. American rural religion is best characterized as evangelical rather than puritanical (10). The Sunday school, the Bible, and personal experience and feeling are important elements in this natural, pragmatic theology.[12]

On the other hand, rural religion is often a matter of form, of what *not* to do—no drinking, cursing, Sunday movies, Sabbath labor, smoking, wenching, or stealing. The deterrent influence of rural religion helps youth avoid temptations, work diligently, persevere, and possibly make good, to a limited extent. But on the other hand, much rural religion leads to a rigid, noncreative, static orientation to life.

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[11] Despite a large amount of spilled ink on "rural values," research has as yet failed to uncover distinctive values held by rural people, excepting valuation of the country as a place to live. For a recent comparison of supposedly rural values among rural, fringe, and urban samples see Tuttle (18). The Heasley thesis (9), on the other hand, suggests that even if rural and urban people are relatively similar in values, they differ sharply in their characteristic styles for realizing those values.

[12] An excellent study of rural family life, religion, and the church is found in Whitman and Lively (24)

Another general cultural characteristic shared by rural families is a low level of formal educational attainment. Adult males living in rural areas have, on the average, about 2 years less formal education than adult males in urban areas (23, table 173). The women have slightly more schooling, but a similar differential persists. Thus the amount and the quality of education is a handicap shared by rural families in the competition for nonagricultural jobs. Furthermore, the average cultural level in the homes tends to be impoverished. Reading matter is scarce and of an extremely popular level. The daily local newspaper or the country weekly, the mail order catalog, and the farm papers are the most common reading matter. Thus, the culture of contemporary society is mediated largely through the ubiquitous television set.

TYPES OF RURAL FAMILIES

So much for general considerations. In the remainder of the paper it will be necessary to talk about types of families in order to bring out important differences in family background factors which are not relatively uniform for all rural youth. As pointed out earlier, distinctions must be made on the basis of residence, class, and race. For very broad purposes the following types of families may be discussed: The commercial farm family, the subsistence farm family, the village proprietor family, the commuter family, and the nonwhite family. Although this typology of rural families is not systematic, it provides a framework for bringing out some of the differing implications various types of family background have for rural youth.

Commercial Farm Families

Let us first consider the commercial farm family. There are somewhat over a million of these families.[13] This type exemplifies the contemporary version of the sturdy yeoman: It is the stereotype rural family, and represents the embodiment of the family farm, so hallowed in American farm policy. It is also a minority type among rural families, even among farm families. But it is the type of family most likely to provide a background for youth to succeed at farming or in nonagricultural pursuits. In this type of family the orientation toward farming is technical or even professional, an orientation that also may be easily transferred to other occupational pursuits. It is from these families that 4-H members are recruited. It is from these families that the "outstanding rural youth," who win honors and publicity in the agricultural press, generally come.

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[13] What I am referring to as "the commercial farm family" is more stringent than the Census of Agriculture's "commercial farms." I have in mind families connected with commercial farms of classes I, II, and III, where value of products sold exceeds $10,000. There were 796,000 farms in classes I, II, and III. I would also include many farms from class IV, where value of products sold is between $5,000 and $10,000. There were 654,000 farms in class IV in the last Census of Agriculture (19).

The educational and cultural level in these families is high. Income may be lower than for many nonagricultural occupations, but there is a strong upwardly mobile thrust. These family backgrounds build in high levels of aspiration. The next generation of farmers will be recruited from this group. Children in these families finish high school and a good proportion go on to college. But many, perhaps over three-quarters, will enter nonfarm occupations where they will do well because of the anticipatory socialization to middle class values in the home. The high value placed on education by the parents generally will lead to adequate training for high status nonagricultural positions.

Subsistence Farm Families

There is another type of farm family that is not succeeding at agriculture. The census classifies this type of farmer as a subsistence farmer, but many farmers above this level also are operating at an uneconomical scale. These are low income farmers. These farm families have not adopted the business orientation to farming—some because of the hold of traditional orientations, while others are proletarians mistaken for entrepreneurs. Level of aspiration is often quite low. Education is not valued, and dropouts are common. The children in these families seldom participate in youth organizations. Income levels are so low that the youth generally do not stay on the farm but take low status nonfarm jobs. This type of family background provides manpower for the rural working class, the cultural type portrayed in "country music." The family background does not prepare the youth for successful competition in contemporary occupational structures. This background restricts youth to those occupational levels where the number of jobs is not expanding (13).

Village Business and Professional Families

Another type of rural family is rather small in numbers, but significant in providing orientations for its youth to succeed. These are the families of village proprietors, managers, and professional men. These families have a rational orientation to their occupation. The status of the family in the village community is an important consideration. Qualities valued because they enhance community status also provide a foundation for success elsewhere in our society. Like those from commercial farm families the children of these families do not necessarily stay in the family business. But like children from commercial farm families, their record of achievement is good elsewhere.

Commuter Families

The next heuristic type of rural family to be considered is the commuter family. This has become the predominant type of rural family. The place of work and the place of residence are widely separated. The worker may spend an hour or more going to work and a similar amount of time returning. Status at the place of work has less influence on status in the community because competence at work is not visible in the community. Status in the community is based more on repute, expressive characteristics, and participation in community affairs.

Although this type of family is the rural working class, quality of housing and other standards of living may be higher than the level of occupation. As Schnore points out, commuters trade the inconvenience of commuting for a better level of housing (14). Because the father is away from the home during most of the children's waking hours, such homes tend to be mother-centered. The young mother is often a captive in her own home. If employment is steady and income is high, such rural working-class homes may socialize children for lower middle-class positions.

Nonwhite Families

The last type of rural family to be discussed is not one type of family; it is many. I am referring to the nonwhite family. About 3 million nonwhites are living on farms and another 2½ million are living in other rural areas. Income levels in these families are very low, half those of comparable white families, even though nonwhite families are up to a third larger in size. Education levels are about 2 years lower than for comparable whites. Families are more unstable.[14]

The nonwhite family is an outcast family living among a white majority. Prejudice and discrimination are everyday realities in every section of this country. Rural Negro families from the South migrating to the North find they have exchanged *de jure* segregation for *de facto* discrimination and segregation. We know very little about rural nonwhite families. It would seem reasonable to assume that the pressures on and the isolation of an outcast people would lead to accommodations that would not contribute to the success of youth in our urban, technological society.

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Chapter 4

The Myth of a Rebellious Adolescent Subculture: Its Detrimental Effects for Understanding Rural Youth

By Robert C. Bealer, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology, Pennsylvania State University; Fern K. Willits, M.S., Instructor of Rural Sociology; Pennsylvania State University; and Peter R. Maida, M.A., Research Assistant in Rural Sociology, Pennsylvania State University

THE PROBLEM

Adolescence in American society is often described as a period of rebellion against parental norms and rejection of traditional attitudes and values. Most writers indicate that this rebellion results from the "storm and stress" inherent in the adolescent's position in contemporary American social structure. For example, problems of occupational choice, sexual frustration arising from early physical maturation but restrictive mores, difficulties in emancipation from the small family, inconsistent authority patterns in the school and home, and conflicts of interest between generations in a rapidly changing society—all are believed to contribute to the strife of the adolescent.

A social counterpart to individual discontent is said to be represented by a distinctive youth subculture which channels and reinforces the rebellion of the individual. This culture is distinguished in both popular and sociological literature by its affirmation of the individual's right to independence, rejection of adult standards of judgment, and compulsive conformity to peer group patterns. In describing this age grouping, a psychologist writes, "Adult standards of behavior do not matter . . . this is the period of greatest resistance to adults" (62, p. 224); and a noted sociologist characterizes the adolescent period as one of "compulsive independence of and antagonism to adult expectation and authority" (45, p. 378). James S. Coleman, in his book analyzing the adolescent social systems of 10 American towns, plays down the obviousness of parent-youth conflict and rebellion but comes to essentially the same position:

> In our modern world of mass communication and rapid diffusion of ideas and knowledge, it is hard to realize that separate subcultures can exist right under the very noses of adults—subcultures with languages all their own, with special symbols, and, most importantly, with value systems that may differ from adults (15, p. 3).

Ernest A. Smith, in a text purporting to summarize "both fact and interpretation derived from a wide range of literature" asserts:

> Youth culture enforces a conformity upon its members, which is intensified by the withdrawal of youth from adult socializing institutions and by the resulting secrecy, which acts as an obstacle to the supervision and control of adults over youth activities. From this secrecy, there arises the series of conflicts between youth culture and adult culture that is characteristic of American society (57, pp. 1 and 7).

In brief, it is generally assumed that a rebellious adolescent subculture exists in fact and is a widespread and dominant pattern among American youth, both urban and rural.

However, there is a large body of research findings which does not support the rebellion image. It is the task of this article to present a small part of the relevant research and to then discuss, first, why the rebellion image exists and, second, some detrimental consequences resulting from the persistence of the myth.

RESEARCH EVIDENCE FOR A NONREBELLIOUS YOUTH SUBCULTURE

The degree to which adolescents see parents as significant in their lives can be a convenient starting point for examining the empirical evidence against a rebellious youth subculture. In a study of four Minnesota rural high schools, 506 students were asked who was the most important reference point in their lives—family, school chums, or someone else. Somewhat over three-fourths indicated parents. School chums accounted for less than 10 percent of the answers, with the remainder scattered among a variety of sources (53). The same high incidence of perceived importance of the family on personality development was reported by Oklahoma college freshmen (44).

These studies are in accord with what has been found by outside observers who have noted the correlation of beliefs, attitudes, and practices between generations. For example, it has been found that nationally the political attitudes of teenagers from lower income and upper income families (50) closely follow the voting patterns of counterpart adults (36). Congruity also appears in more rigorous data comparing children and parents directly. In this regard, a study of 1,088 students in 13 different colleges found that most of these youth, particularly the females, conformed to the religious ideologies of their parents (49). W. A. Anderson's study of participation in formal organizations by approximately 2,000 New York farm families found that this trait is primarily a family unit phenomonon. If parents are active in organizations, their children will also tend to be participators. Where parents are nonparticipators their children usually show the same pattern (2). The particular family situation can even override otherwise strong predisposing factors like socioeconomic class position. In orientation to education, persons of lower socioeconomic status usually are unsympathetic to the school. But, in a study of high school dropouts in a small midwestern city it was found that while only 13 percent of the lower class parents whose children dropped out opposed the adolescent's leaving, a group of students matched for social class and IQ who stayed in school showed 68 percent of the parents strongly insisting on school attendance (23, p. 60). The correlation between the behavior of parents and children can be seen also in the area of employment. The general occupational category of a person's father is one of the best single predictors of what kind of work a youth will follow in his adult years. This is particularly evident in rural areas. Although most farm youth can not take up their father's trade due to present economic circumstances, agriculture is still largely a "hereditary" occupation (51). Of course, the patterns of similarity in behaviors between generations are not always perfect (e.g., 52). Still, a high degree of congruence is usual.

While parents may be vitally important in determining their children's behavior, it could be that this influence is coercive. That is, the perceived importance of parents could indicate that rebellion, although tried, is unsuccessful. To examine this possibility, other data are required—data which bear on the "favorableness" of the adolescent's perception of his parents, and by inference his felt need to rebel. One does not normally rebel against conditions one accepts, and parties out of "favor" and in conflict would hardly be expected to have "nice" images of one another.

A study of 3,000 Minnesota small town and rural adolescents and preadolescents centering on the descriptive terms supplied by them to a sentence completion test of the order, "My father is __________," showed that:

> Toward both mother and father, boys and girls extend more favorable than unfavorable attitudes [in terms of complimentary descriptions] . . . The small proportions of boys showing negative attitudes toward mother and/or father decreases steadily through childhood and adolescence. The correspondingly small proportions of girls showing negative attitudes increase steadily through childhood and adolescence (21, pp. 410–411).

Another study showed that youth were willing to ascribe even more favorable and complimentary traits to adults than were their parents (24).

Studies of rural Pennsylvania high school sophomores in 1947 and 1960 assessed the acceptability of such behaviors as drinking, smoking, school failure, use of makeup, card playing, divorce, dancing, dating, use of money, and church attendance. In both time periods it was found that the youth were most likely to evaluate their parents' points of view toward these actions as "sensible" rather than as "too critical" or "not critical enough." This appraisal of the family's orientation to the relevant behaviors was by far the mode, both in 1947 with one sample (67) and in 1960 with a second sample (3). Thus, it would seem that the value positions of youth and adults are not in serious conflict. Indeed, the data imply value congruence between generations.

The Minnesota study of parental importance also inquired as to what the students felt their parents and school friends would praise them for when they became adults. While some differences between these two groups appeared, the degree of similarity was marked. Material success, personal achievement, and occupational attainment represented a central focus in both groupings (53). These are among the cardinal values normally associated with American culture (63, pp. 415–468). Furthermore, while the emphasis placed on these qualities has shown some very small decline over the past 30 years, they are still greatly stressed as values for many rural youth. This is illustrated in part by a content analysis of the editorials of the *4–H Club News* (60). Similarity in perceived parent and peer criteria of personal worth and esteem would hardly be likely to appear if there is a strong intergenerational conflict of value position.

The similarity in points of view between peers and parents is particularly vital when interpreting the research which shows the characteristic "withdrawal" of adolescents from family-centered and attended activities (38, 47). Participation in academic and extracurricular school activities usually means physical withdrawal from the family and high exposure to peers' influence. However, this does not necessarily mean rejection of parental norms. The test of the importance of norms lies in ability to direct behavior without the literal presence of others for enforcement; in other words, when they have been internalized by the individual. In the Pennsylvania study cited previously, as youths increased their involvement in school functions, the proportion of "sensible" answers for the family's attitudes went up, not down, as would be expected if physical withdrawal decreased the saliency of parental norms (3).

The similarity in values between adults and youth does not mean that disagreements never occur. On the contrary, in specific decision-making situations what an adolescent's parents believe he "ought" to do and what his peer group thinks would be appropriate behavior may differ. When this happens the question can be raised: Which group does the individual follow? Students in 10 midwestern high schools were asked which would be the hardest result "to take" if, in joining a school club, parents disapproved of it, the teachers were negative, or it required breaking with one's closest friend. Even though the nature of the question seems to carry a bias toward obtaining the last alternative, parents still received a majority vote. About 53 percent of the boys and girls said parental disapproval would be the hardest to take while 43 percent said breaking the friendship would "count" most (15, p. 5).

Another study conducted among girls in seven Georgia and Alabama high schools inquired into 12 specific situations such as which of two dresses to buy and whether or not to report a boy whom one saw damaging school property. The stories which conveyed the situation also indicated what alternative the parents urged and what behavior the peer group desired. The students were then asked what they would do. The tests were readministered after 2 weeks and the peer group and parent expectations were switched. Fifty-seven percent of the students' responses did not change between the first and second testing. Of the 43 percent which changed, a majority altered "what they would do" to the parental urging in 9 of the 12 situations. Two of the three situations where the shifts in answer went toward the peer group more often than parents involved matters of dress (9). This pattern of relative importance of peers and parents is certainly not always true (e.g., 46, 59). Perhaps the best generalization is that there is a flux in reference points depending on the situation (58). The setting would seem rare, however, where the parental wishes are totally ignored.

Thus, the research record seems to indicate that rebellion is not characteristic of youth in the United States. When differences associated with place of residence are considered, adolescents from rural areas show even less tendency to rebel than do their urban cousins. When the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory was administered to 15,000 ninth grade students in Minnesota, "[the] data suggest[ed] that the controls of society are more resisted and probably more productive of maladjustment as the population density increases" (22, pp. 337–338). In other words, "one would expect that delinquency and conflict with parents or other authorities would be more characteristic of the urban youths" (22, p. 337). Similarly, a Michigan study found that rural teenagers scored highest in submissiveness and conservatism while urban youth were higher on dominance, aggressiveness, and radicalism (20).

Related to research on personality differences are a number of studies on the individual's adjustment level. The term "adjustment" is not always clearly or consistently used by different investigators.[1] Furthermore, much of the research has utilized preadolescents or college students. Nonetheless, such data have shown that the rural adolescent is somewhat less well adjusted than his urban counterpart (27, 34, 43). This might seem to contradict the Minnesota study cited in the previous paragraph.

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[1] Usually "poor adjustment" is seen to take "two general forms, one being aggressive and the other passive or withdrawal behavior . . . aggressive maladjustment consists of behavior in which a person is hostile to others, breaks rules . . . withdrawal adjustment consists of behavior in which a person is shy, fearful and seclusive" (23, p. 29).

However, in all the studies that have come to our attention where this was found, a major contributing factor for the lower adjustment levels of the rural population was the withdrawal tendency of the rural child (12, 42), or adolescent (27, 34). This kind of behavior hardly seems congruent with the needs of an overtly rebellious subculture where aggressive maladjustment would be expected.

In conclusion we can profitably recall a summary given elsewhere:

> The failure to find evidence of parent-youth conflict regarding what constitutes proper patterns of behavior does not necessarily mean that parents and their offspring do not disagree in regard to some—and perhaps many—questions. The adolescent seeking to establish his identity in adult society may disagree with his parents regarding when recognition of his maturity should occur. He may wish to engage in activities which symbolize his adulthood while his parents feel that he is still too young. This type of "rebellion" is as temporary as is the period of adolescence itself, and, rather than rejection of parental norms, it is perhaps better characterized as acceptance of and eagerness to participate in the larger society. Once the youth is accepted as a member of the adult society, this type of conflict ceases. It is this disagreement with parents concerning the adulthood of the adolescent which is probably responsible for the popular image of rebellious youth. However, this cannot accurately be described as a group rejection of societal norms. It constitutes an individual resistance to specific authority patterns (3, p. 69).

Of course, this kind of "rebellion" is important. It is often painfully experienced by both parent and child. It can lead to tragic results in some cases—neurosis, delinquency, even suicide or murder. It helps bring teenagers together in their cliques, friendship groups and wider modes of affiliation and helps to hold them together as a unit. But, such conflict occurs within a value framework and not charactristically over values. Indeed, if there is to be continuity between generations, there must be some sharing of basic values between adults and youth. That such continuity exists is shown by the simple fact that American society has survived over time. This alone implies that the majority of adolescents do not reject the most vital aspects of the larger society. Moreover, "there is remarkable agreement as to what American values are or have been and agreement upon their stability through more than 150 years" (31, p. 149). Such stability could hardly be evidence if adolescents rebelled and rejected the basic value tenets of the preceding generation.

One further point also needs to be noted. To argue continuity in values between generations is not to suggest a static society lacking change. Data from the Pennsylvania study cited above has shown, for example, that the overall degree of social conservatism of rural youth decreased somewhat between 1947 and 1960 (66). Still, the conservatism scores for the later sample closely resembled the answer profile of the earlier youth. Society can perhaps best be pictured as a moving trend line.

A POSSIBLE EXPLANATION FOR THE MYTH

In light of the foregoing review, the question arises: Why does the myth of a rebellious youth subculture exist? It may be that at least part of the explanation lies in the conceptual framework implicitly or explicitly used to understand "culture."

The meaning of culture, and in turn subculture, is not standardized in the social sciences (33). Among many professionals interested in the study of human behavior, culture is equated with all aspects of man's social actions. Wearing blue jeans and black leather jackets, listening to Elvis Presley or Pat Boone, drinking beer or chocolate milk shakes—all are taken as equally indicative of, and caused by, one's culture. It is implied that men, through their group affiliations, have defined for themselves correct or appropriate behavior for every phase of life and for all situations. Thus, whatever the individual does is due to his meanings, motives, and definitions of the situation—jointly summed as "his culture." If two persons in a similar setting behave differently, it is because "they have different cultures" stemming from different group affiliations.

This understanding of "culture "is one of preference in emphasis and it has considerable validity. Among other things, it underscores the idea that human behavior is socially conditioned and is not due simply to biological, physical, or other nonsocial environmental factors. But, it comes close to substituting social determinism for other forms of single factor explanation. More specifically, we would suggest that this understanding of "culture" helps to explain the presence of the myth. To indicate the way this can occur requires setting out a contrasting conception of culture.

Instead of emphasizing all aspects of human behavior as "manifesting culture," the second understanding of the term is less inclusive. Thus, it is taken that: (a) Culture is widely shared or held in common by the members of a society (or part of a society) but, (b) those things which are shared are the ideals for behavior, the values or criteria by which both the ends and the means to them ought to be selected. Whether in fact actual behavior conforms to cultural standards or values is problematic. Characteristically the ideal pattern is only approximated by actual behavior.[2] This is so if for no other reason than that the values are general directives, whereas action situations are specific.

While one can take honesty as a value, just what acts fulfill honesty are not always clear. Culture here is taken as a recipe—a European type—calling for a dash of ground garlic (not one-fourth teaspoon), a medium wedge of cheddar (not eight ounces), salt to taste, and so on. The results of persons following such a recipe are variable, although the outcome is still identifiable as cheese sauce and not bouillon. This conception of culture assumes that expressed behavior is not a simple and direct reflection of cultural standards. Rather, it makes room for genetic and physiological differences in personality; allows for the influences of physical conditions over which the individual has no control; and recognizes that structural and ecological factors (such as the size of groups, their number and heterogeneity) all help to determine human action.

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[2] For a discussion of culture and values in this regard see (63).

The distinction between these two conceptions and their outcomes can be clarified by taking science as an illustration of a culture. Under the first usage, a cultural description of "science" would emphasize, for example, the vast and total array of the physicist's behavior—his use of electron microscopes, his precise measurement techniques, rigorous experimental setups, utilization of unified and systemic theories and so on. Turning to sociology, the "culture" of science shows a vastly different set of behaviors and characteristics from that of the physicist. For the sociologist there are no machines comparable to electron microscopes, he utilizes relatively imprecise measurement, he has few laboratory experimental setups, and while theories abound, they are neither unified nor systemic. One is tempted to see, therefore, two different cultures and, indeed, even conflicting cultures.

In particular actions, the physicist and the sociologist are widely separated. Yet it can be shown that in basic principles they are in agreement (37). Both sociology and physics subscribe to the same canons for ascertaining truth, particularly the validity of sense data. The second conception of culture emphasizes this essential unity by seeing science not in terms of particulars and specifics—which can vary widely—but in terms of the basic values it adheres to in arriving at truth. These values clearly distinguish science from other types of "culture," for instance, religion with its characteristic emphasis on revelation. The point to note is that people can vary in the details and particulars of their behavior without that difference necessarily signifying conflict over, or rejection of, underlying principles or values.

Similarly, the behavior of adolescents in American society differs from that of adults. Teenagers' mode of dress and grooming is sometimes radical and given to rather rapid fluctuations and fads (5, 57). They have their own magazines which cater to adolescent tastes and reflect their concerns, particularly through the letters-to-the-editor columns. Among these are such problems as acne, incompetence in interpersonal relations, and knowledge of the opposite sex (10, 50). Movies (19), popular music and radio (5, 29) seem to be their virtual monopoly. The automobile has a crucial and, all too often, a deadly role to play in their lives (39). Dating provides a mechanism for heterosexual play and experimentation in erotic styles, and is a dominant focus of attention and of time consumption (57). Their vocabulary is sometimes strange to adult ears (5, 15).

However, the differences in adolescent and adult behavior, while real, are differences in degree rather than in kind. And, the degree of dissimilarity has often been overstressed. Adult female fashion, and of late, male adult garb show yearly change. The circulation of mass magazines for the general audience has been declining steadily while all kinds of special interest organs have flourished. Dale Carnegie has made a fortune through correcting adults' "shyness," and cosmetics have a tradition of hiding nature's "flaws." The fanfare given Detroit's latest models, the 5 or 6 million new cars sold annually, and father's customary pride in showing off his latest purchase to the neighbors is commonplace. Kinsey's reports, divorce court scandals, and the ever-present aura of sexuality in advertising aimed at adults suggest that cross-sex interest and variety in erotic play does not wither with youth. Adults too have their specialized "languages" stemming from their work.

If one ignores basic similarities between adolescents and adults and emphasizes culture as the "particulars" of behavior, then disagreements and differences at the level of specific action may be misinterpreted and assumed to apply to the general value framework as well. Failure on the part of many writers to distinguish between the two understandings of culture may at least partially explain the presence of the rebellious adolescent subculture myth. For example, James Coleman asserts the existence of a youth subculture which, if not outrightly rebellious, is at least different in values from the adult world:

> Because adolescents live so much in a world of their own, adults remain uninformed about the way teenagers spend their time, the things that are important to them, and the things that friends have in common (15, p. 12).

However, this declaration creates difficulties for Coleman, and just 22 pages later he is led to generalize that parents:

> want their children to be successful in the things that "count" in the school, that is, the things that count in the eyes of the other adolescents. And parents know what things count (15, p. 34).

These two statements, while explicitly contradictory, can be resolved by returning to the alternative understandings of culture just presented. Coleman's declarations are compatible if we take the first statement to mean the particulars of the adolescent's world, such as who is the latest "favored" singer (culture in the first sense), and if we take the second statement to mean basic values like success and achievement (culture in the second sense).

In stressing the similarity in values, or the second sense of culture, we do not mean to say that knowing whether singer X or singer Y is currently in favor at a particular school or in a given town is unimportant. It may be crucial knowledge in gaining and keeping rapport with teenagers. However, one can miss the similarity in basic values between adults and youth by concentrating on the idiosyncratic aspects of adolescent behavior. Moreover, viewing the period of adolescence primarily in terms of a distinctive, rebellious subculture can hinder our understanding of many aspects of teenage behavior. We shall pinpoint discussion by taking as one example, the problem of school dropouts among rural youth.

SOME DETRIMENTAL EFFECTS OF THE REBELLIOUS YOUTH SUBCULTURE IDEA

Changing Values Appears Easier Than It Is

Focusing on the "rebellion" of the adolescent, and implying as this does the discontinuity of values between generations, tends to underestimate the difficulty of changing the potential dropout's orientation so as to keep him in school. By viewing the individual as "in rebellion" the image is cast that such a person is adrift. If the teenager has "rejected" his parents, then he will be looking for new anchorages.[3] Thus, the task of keeping the potential dropout in school appears to be a matter of merely presenting and "selling" the values that will make him see the advantages of this course of action.[4] But the notion of youth adrift through rebellion ignores the possibility that there may be stringent competition with the proposed values. By ignoring the fact of continuity in culture, one can be led to miss the simple fact that there is often parental support for the dropout adolescent's decision—support which may be tacit but nonetheless present. That is, some parents tend to see little utility in a secondary education and may openly encourage, or at least reinforce, the youth's choice to leave school. As a result, any attempt to change values must take into account the possible familial buttressing of teenage decisions.

It needs recognition that the adolescent who drops out of school may not be adrift in a rebellious youth subculture. He can, in fact, be closely tied to the relatively stable cultural background of his parents and may leave school prior to graduation because of this very fact. The problem of changing values and influencing these young people to stay in school is not, therefore, a short-run task, nor is it an easy one. The matter is not as simple as throwing a life preserver to a drowning sailor, for the persistent fact remains that persons often reject such "help" when it is not supported by their social and cultural environment. The limited success of slum clearance projects (54), educational retraining programs (8), criminal and drug addiction rehabilitation (28, 48) are cases in point. The problems of high school dropouts would seem to be similar. Any remedial program hoping for dramatic gains must be total, involving not just the individual, but his family and perhaps the general community as well. The rebellious youth myth can cause us to overlook this simple but vital fact.

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[3] It has been established through research that people need evaluation criteria and quickly work to attain them (55).

[4] Research has shown that having to first dissuade a person from his old ideas and then to substitute new ones is considerably more difficult than trying to persuade a person whose beliefs are neutral (65).

False Homogeneity

The conception of a rebellious youth subculture emphasizes the generational split as the most important and, hence, directs attention primarily to the age-youth cleavage. It implies that all teenagers can be considered as members of a homogeneous unit standing in opposition to parents. Such a position tends to ignore the variability among young people—variability which is crucially important in understanding the rural school dropout.

One line of significant differentiation is a distinction based on social class or socioeconomic status. Research in the urban setting has shown that there are many things involved in a student's leaving school prior to graduation, but the single factor most persistent and widespread in its relationship to early withdrawal is social class position or socioeconomic status (7).

While this has been repeatedly demonstrated for urban youth, studies dealing with social class in the rural scene are peculiarly lacking (11). This is not to say that social stratification fails to exist in the rural community. Rather, its neglect may result from the idea that "the concept of social stratification . . . runs counter to a basic rural value, that of a high degree of equality among the people of a community" (11, p. 110). This same value premise may affect the perception of persons interested in studying rural society and hence deflect attention away from the vital area of socioeconomic class differences (1). Whatever the reason, the nature of social class in the rural scene needs more careful and systematic attention than has been accorded it. The limited amount of research that has dealt with this problem has shown that rural communities tend to be stratified along the same lines as urban centers (16). Thus, while the need for research dealing with social class and its effect on early high school withdrawal in rural areas is acute, the findings of empirical studies in urban areas may not be completely inapplicable.[5]

These studies indicate that lower socioeconomic class adults generally place less value on formal education than do middle and upper class persons. This devaluation of school attendance on the part of the adult population is often, in turn, reflected in the adolescent's own decision to withdraw prior to graduation. Such a person manifests a decision which is frequently anchored in the value system of his originating culture. Rather than some sort of rejection of the parentally sponsored norms, the act of dropping from school may represent an affirmation of them.

At the same time one ought to be aware that:

> action oriented to the achievement and maintenance of the lower class system may violate norms of middle class culture and be perceived as deliberately nonconforming or malicious by an ob-

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[5] For an overall summary of research on social class see (30). For information more specifically oriented to class-associated values see (18, 26, 32, 41).

> server strongly cathected to middle class norms. This does not mean, however, that violation of the middle class norm is the dominant component of motivation; it is a by-product of action primarily oriented to the lower class system. . . . a distinctive tradition many centuries old with an integrity of its own. (41, p. 19)

Such an idea, of course, runs counter to many persons' conception of lower class culture. Indeed, until quite recently, it was fashionable to picture lower class society as unstable, disorganized, and hence exhibiting little continuity from generation to generation.

A contrary view which has had particular application to the analysis of delinquent behavior pictures lower class culture as largely accepting the societal ends fostered by the dominant, middle classes. But, because it is barred by a variety of circumstances from institutionalized and legitimate means to these ends, lower class society evolves illegal (delinquent) behaviors to reach them (13, 14, 40). Lower class culture is depicted, therefore, as essentially rebellious. If this is the case, then the acts of delinquency which stem from having learned such a culture ought not to be labeled—as they often are—as "rebellion" of youth. Rather, delinquency may be better seen as conformity with adult-sponsored values (41). This implies that some part of the lower class society is persistently and characteristically at variance with the established and legitimate means to reach prized ends. However, it should be recognized that most lower class youth are not chronically delinquent. One should not transpose the fact that delinquents are largely lower class in origin to mean that, therefore, most lower class adolescents are delinquent. High as the incidence of teenage crime may be, comparison of numbers here to the size of the lower class population leaves the inescapable conclusion that the majority of such persons cannot be normally in the grips of the law (61). It would seem, therefore, that not all lower class persons should be assumed as involved in a rebellious subculture but that some—probable a minority—are so engaged. Edgar Z. Friedenberg has summed the matter nicely as follows: "Most of these [lower class] youngsters handle their feelings without becoming aggressively hostile; they are able to coexist with middle class institutions and lead their own lives as what William F. Whyte called 'corner boys', avoiding conflict by a certain wariness. . . . The 'corner boy' . . . differs from the lower class juvenile delinquent not in being better attuned to middle class folkways but in being more detached from them [and attached to others]; ironically it is the delinquent boy who has more feeling for [identification with] the [larger] society with which he is struggling" (17, pp. 122–123).

Nevertheless, some writers have attempted to support the view of instability of lower class social patterns by pointing to, among other things, the high incidence of "broken" homes composed of only mother and children (25). This is at variance with a normal middle class family in which a father is present. It does not mean necessarily that the mother-child family lacks viability. The contrary is true. For example, the lower class family form in which the father is absent, has shown amazing persistence through time. One need not condone this type of family unit nor ignore the possible behavioral outcomes for the children involved, to see its vitality. The person who wishes to change social structure or the values substrating it must start with a recognition of reality and not form his own wishes about it or conclusions drawn from a middle class sense of "correctness." In terms of the values of the potential dropout, the first step in this process is to appreciate the wide variation existing within the grouping, "adolescents."

While social class differences represent perhaps the most striking case of important variability, others also occur and need emphasis. We have stressed class because it is a vital element and because it has usually been overlooked in the rural setting. Furthermore, our discussion should not be taken to mean that no lower class youths finish high school. They do. "There is a sizeable proportion of the lower class group who do not incorporate this [a lower class] value system" (26, p. 441). We know that parents serve as mediators to the larger cultural milieu and thus particular familial considerations, such as parental encouragement to finish school (23) or to aspire to high status occupations (56), may overcome the effect of typical lower class devaluation of education. We do not know enough, however. What creates the situation for general parental support for high aspirations? The fact that there are some lower class persons who highly value education represents a challenging problem If the factors causing these persons to reject devaluation of education can be identified, we may be able better to direct other lower class adolescents toward similar goals. In this cause a flexible conception is required which cannot only allow for the variation that is lower class culture, but which can see variability within the lower (or other) class itself. Unfortunately the rebellious subculture idea does not foster recognition of any such differentiation.

The Change Agent's Values

The idea of varying and possibly competing values needs emphasis not only because of the stress which can result for the target of the change program, but also because it presents certain personal conflicts for the individual who is interested in bringing about change. Most change agents, reflecting the dominant middle class values of American society, tend to see no problem as unyielding in the face of simple educational effort (cf. 4). But values represent basic criteria of worth, and, hence, are not easily changed nor readily amenable to compromise (64). Therefore, any action program designed to keep teenagers in school is potentially fraught with conflict for it requires altering the potential dropout's values. Furthermore, this goal transgresses one of the basic value premises of the change agent's own cultural background—the belief that one ought to "live and let live." Since he may be unable or unwilling to accept the possibility of open conflict (6), it gives him some reassurance to believe that the dropout adolescent is adrift and desires his help. This is often not the case, but the idea of rebellious youth salves one's conscience, eases anxiety, and makes a difficult job appear easier than it is. Perhaps these functions of the myth help preserve its existence in popular thought.

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PART II

Rural Education

Chapter 5

Rural Education

Prepared by Robert M. Isenberg, Director, Division of Rural Service, National Education Association

Based on

Programs for Those Rural Schools Which Are Necessarily Existent
  Ralph G. Bohrson, M.A., Coordinator, Western States Small Schools Project
  Elbie L. Gann, Ed.D., Assistant Commissioner of Education, Office of Administrative Services, Colorado State Department of Education
Rural Education Systems—Elementary Education
  Clara E. Cockerille, Ed.D., Professor of Education and Psychology, Westminister College, New Wilmington, Pa.
The Role of School District Reorganization in Improving Rural Education
  Martelle L. Cushman, Ph.D., Dean of the College of Education, University of North Dakota
High School Education for Rural Youth
  Noble J. Gividen, Ed.D., District Superintendent of Schools, First Supervisory District, Westchester County, N.Y.
Guidance and Counseling for Adult Careers
  Glyn Morris, Ed.D., Assistant District Superintendent of Schools, Sole Supervisory District of Lewis County, N.Y.
Area and Cooperative Approaches to Providing Supplemental Educational Services
  Alvin E. Rhodes, M.A., former County Superintendent of Schools, San Luis Obispo, Calif.

As our Nation has become more urbanized and the problems of cities have grown more complex and demanding, those who help to shape goals and develop public policy may sometimes regard rural America as something of another era—already disappeared from the scene or rapidly in the process. Such an assumption is unfortunate. Even the most casual inventory of actual circumstances will quickly identify important problems in rural communities. One special cluster relates to education. The facts are that a large segment of our total school age population lives in our rural areas and that many of these children and youth attend schools offering little more than a low quality program.

The elimination of isolation and ease of mobility are among the factors contributing to the lower visibility of problems of rural education. These same factors emphasize why everyone must be concerned when anyone anywhere is shortchanged in his educational development. Few people are any longer grounded to a single community. If we accept the projections that those now receiving a low quality education can expect only a continuing series of disappointments, frustrations, unemployment, or, at best, underemployment, we must also accept the probability that a majority of today's rural young people will spend much of this kind of future in an urban center. Existing educational inadequacies in rural America demand nationwide attention and help.

There is little doubt that certain types of specific action at all levels of government could check much of the failure to develop our rural human potential. These are overdue. But providing appropriate educational programs of high quality for every rural community is not an easy task. Rural areas have a disproportionately large number of the Nation's children in need of education coupled with a disproportionately small share of the Nation's income with which to do the job. Such problems as are inherent in this kind of circumstance are compounded by large areas of sparse population, a generally low level of understanding of what a high quality education includes and requires, and a general tendency to be satisfied with things the way they now are.

The specific problems of education in rural areas could be itemized as a minimal level of nearly everything that makes up an educational program. There are too many unnecessarily small schools and small school districts. Salaries paid teachers are often sufficient only to attract the relatively inexperienced or those with longer experience but limited professional preparation. The supply and variety of instructional materials too frequently are inadequate. Programs in music, art, guidance, and vocational education are limited if provided at all. Not much is done for children with special needs—the gifted, the slow learners, those having speech problems that could be corrected with proper attention, and many others. There is an almost universal absence of expert assistance. And with all these shortcomings, the fact hardest to accept is that these programs with all their inadequacies often carry a higher than average price tag on a per pupil basis.

It is not the purpose here to detail and further analyze the problems of rural education, however. Problems such as these can be observed in some degree in nearly every rural community of every State. How they might be resolved commands our attention. This chapter, therefore, is devoted to an examination of three approaches for improving rural elementary and secondary schools. None is untried. All have continuing promise.

DISTRICT REORGANIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION

Combining the multitude of small schools serving rural areas into larger schools began more than a century ago. There was a time when the "little red schoolhouse" or one-teacher schools of another color were synonymous with rural education. Not any longer. Such schools established to be within walking distance for children living in farmhouses along every country road have rapidly been giving way to a different kind of school operation. No aspect of local government has undergone revision more drastically. The process is still going on.

In describing what has taken place, a distinction must be made between the two processes—district reorganization and school consolidation. School district reorganization involves formal combinations of previously separate and legally constituted school districts into one school district. Following reorganization, all of the area of all former districts involved in the merger is recognized as one school corporation under one board of education. School consolidation represents a process whereby students who previously attended separate schools are brought together in a single building. Following consolidation, the former school buildings may be abandoned, used for other purposes or otherwise disposed of.

While reorganization and consolidation often go hand-in-hand, it is entirely possible to form a new school district without changing the attendance pattern of children. It is equally possible to consolidate a number of smaller schools within a single school district without any changes in district boundaries. Many variations occur.

The extent to which district reorganization has progressed has most commonly been demonstrated by tabulations of the actual number of legally constituted school districts at different periods of time. A review of such data shows that the somewhat fewer than 30,000 school districts existing today is less than one-fourth the number operating 30 years ago. The degree of consolidation is more difficult to determine. Some measure can be determined from an inventory of the number of one-teacher schools in operation at different time intervals. This procedure shows that more than 9 of every 10 such schools operating 30 years ago have now been closed. An even greater impact of consolidation would be indicated if the number of two-, three-, and four-teacher schools eliminated also could be included. A more subjective impression of the extent of consolidation can be gained from simply driving off in any direction to see some of the modern school buildings which have been provided for the school children in many rural communities. Some of the best school buildings existing anywhere are now in open country settings.

Two unmistakable conclusions can be drawn from the history of reorganization and consolidation. The first relates to the objective which people were attempting to achieve. The school districts involved in any reorganization or consolidation action have always been motivated by a desire to develop and provide a better educational program. Other benefits, if any, have been secondary in importance. The second conclusion is that most of all the reorganizations and consolidations that have occurred have been within the past two decades. The accomplishments we have seen had to wait for the development of efficient, adequate, and safe programs of school bus transportation. What can be done now in rural areas to bring large groups of children together was not possible in an earlier day.

The extent to which districts have been reorganized and schools consolidated, however, does not indicate whether hoped-for improvements have actually been achieved. The real test of community action is whether consequent changes have made any difference in the quality of the educational programs provided. There have been numerous attempts to compare the scope and quality of the program after reorganization or consolidation both with what previously had been provided and with generally accepted standards of adequacy. Overwhelmingly, such comparisons favor the reorganized district and consolidated school. The conclusions of dozens of studies point out that reorganized districts and consolidated schools have advantages over nonreorganized and nonconsolidated schools in that the former are more likely to have:

- a more continuous and more highly qualified administrative leadership;
- a larger proportion of more professionally qualified teachers;
- better school plants on larger school sites, better equipped playgrounds, gymnasiums, libraries, laboratories, and classrooms;
- more instructional materials, teaching aids, and specialized equipment;
- more use of teachers in such special fields as music, art, foreign languages, physical education, adult programs;
- more kindergartens and guidance programs;
- better supervision of instruction and better educational planning;
- higher pupil achievement as measured by standardized tests;
- increased parent involvement and better community understanding of educational objectives and the educational program;
- greater citizen participation in the determination of local school policies;
- better qualified school board members;
- only slightly higher school costs.

On the basis of such conclusions, it is sometimes difficult to understand the vigorous resistance efforts to reorganize or consolidate often encountered. The studies which have attempted to analyze objections show that most are based on misconceptions and lack of understanding. If, for example, reorganization and consolidation were actually to require long hazardous bus rides for all small children, result in a forfeiture of such local control as still remains, push into oblivion the waning local community identification, or cause local taxes to soar beyond any point of reasonableness—the circumstances most frequently pointed out as certain to accompany acceptance of a new local pattern for school operation—there would be many more opponents. Fortunately, such fears have little basis. The dire consequences some forecast never materialize.

Much more serious than opposition has been the tendency in many instances to set the sights too low, to "reorganize too small." There are communities in all parts of the country which have become involved in a reorganization or consolidation action and have experienced all the emotional involvement—the excitement, opposition, struggle, and satisfaction of accomplishment—without bringing into being an adequate structure for a high quality educational program. What their new school can provide is sometimes little better than what they had previously. In such instances, further reorganization and consolidation will be required before substantial results are likely to be realized.

The evidence now available is far more than just suggestion that reorganization and consolidation come close to achieving the objective toward which they are aimed. In recent years the progress has been rapid. Even more important, communities have liked what they have done. So thoroughly has the reorganized school district been accepted that none has ever reverted to its original component district status, despite legal provisions in some States making it possible for them to do so. The consolidated school has become the center of community pride just as it has become a center for community activity. Almost without exception, every rural community that has moved forward to help establish a new school center or to become part of a newly reorganized district is providing educational benefits for its children and youth far beyond anything previously possible. These communities are better communities as a result of what they have done.

IMPROVING THE NECESSARY SMALL SCHOOLS

While many of the smaller schools have been or could be eliminated through consolidation or appropriate reorganization, these procedures cannot eliminate all the small schools. Some will always be necessary. These are schools in a few places, for example, which serve a small group of children living too far from their nearest community to make transportation feasible. Others live where transportation is virtually impossible during certain months of the year. An even greater number live in school districts which frequently include a vast geographic area so sparsely populated that even with extensive transportation, only schools with small enrollment are possible. It becomes important to recognize that they are necessary, that they must continue to operate. Even more important, it is necessary to exert every possible effort to assure a high quality educational program for the children who attend these small schools.

Pioneering efforts to upgrade the quality of smaller schools are sprinkled throughout the history of American education. Individual teachers with far more than typical ingenuity and insight have probably contributed to bringing high quality instruction to the young people they had an opportunity to serve. Generally, however, what might be regarded as an organized and coordinated attack aimed at improving small schools by developing new approaches to instruction, by adapting existing methods, and by encouraging innovation is relatively recent.

During the past few years a number of separate small school projects have been undertaken. Recognizing the general reluctance of taxpayers to pay for experimental efforts, most of these projects have had grants of "research and development money" from foundations or other sources. Usually involving a group of separate schools, these projects have been coordinated by a college or university or a State department of education. While most of the projects have been completed and reports are available from each, a brief identification of what they have attempted may be helpful.

The Rural School Improvement Project

This project was centered in southeastern Kentucky and sponsored by Berea College with some financial help from the Fund for the Advancement of Education. The primary effort was that of improving the quality of teaching through a program of instructional supervision. A close relationship between school and community was also emphasized.

The Catskill Area Project in Small School Design

This project was initiated in 1957 with some financial assistance from the Fund for the Advancement of Education and jointly sponsored by Teachers College of Columbia University, Oneonta State Teachers College, and the Boards of Cooperative Educational Services serving the project schools in the Catskill area of New York. Member schools experimented with multiple class teaching, supervised correspondence study, shared services, film teaching, programed instruction, the use of technological devices in instruction, and seminars for able students. The project operated for 3 years during which extensive inservice development programs were carried on with teachers and administrators.

The Education Resources Program

Initiated by Goddard College in 1957, this project represented an effort to provide better qualified teachers to small multigrade elementary schools in Vermont. Working with schools near the college, the program combined the assignment of promising student teachers to the participating schools, supervision, and discussion seminars. Partial financial support of the program was provided by the Ford Foundation.

The Rocky Mountain Area Project for Small High Schools

Under the sponsorship of the Colorado State Department of Education with financial assistance from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, the Rocky Mountain project also was begun in 1957. From an involvement of only 5 schools the project grew to include more than 30 scattered throughout the State. Multiple class teaching, intraclassroom grouping for instruction, filmed lessons, supervised correspondence study, seminars for able students, and a broader use of community resources in the instructional program were part of project schools experimentation. Restrictive State requirements were waived for project schools when desirable to permit justifiable experimentation.

The Upper Susquehanna Valley Project

Bucknell University provided coordination for this project based on filmed instruction and the use of programed materials in the areas of science and mathematics. Special attention was also given to gifted students to compensate for the scarcity of educational and cultural facilities in their rural schools. The project received financial help from the Ford Foundation and through the National Defense Education Act.

The Texas Small Schools Project

This project was initiated in 1959 by the Texas Education Agency to upgrade the quality of the large number of small schools scattered throughout the State. The project has combined many of the same approaches used by other small schools projects with instructional materials, inservice education, and the consultation, coordination, and encouragement provided by the Agency. This is the only project of those included here which has not received outside financial help.

The Western States Small Schools Project

This project is based on a compact among Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah through which all have agreed to carry on experimentation and research in their small schools, coordinate these activities, and share their findings with each other. While the projects within each State have a somewhat different emphasis, the experiments are focusing largely on flexible scheduling, programed instruction, teaching English as a second language, continuous progress programs, shared services, technological innovation, and instructional approaches unique to the one-teacher school.

While some additional experimentation is going on in individual small schools completely independent of the more formalized projects reported here, these descriptions illustrate some of the recent and current efforts to find ways for upgrading the quality of the educational programs in small schools. Only the Texas and Western States projects are still formally in operation although many of the practices begun during project involvement continue without project stimulation in other areas. In a few instances what was begun during project participation has been further developed and refined by local innovation and experience.

Four circumstances must be considered in relation to programs to help small schools provide an educational program of high quality. First, a large number of rural children attend small schools. They require and are deserving of the best educational programs that can be provided. Second, none of the factors usually accepted as characteristics of high quality educational programs has a necessary relationship to size of school. With sufficient innovation, it should be possible to achieve quality education in necessarily existent small schools. Third, because smaller schools have fewer students, teachers, administrators, parents, classrooms, buildings—indeed smaller quantities of everything—the logistical complications which tend to retard adaptation and change are greatly reduced. Small schools, therefore, have a tremendous potential for change. Fourth, small schools offer unusual opportunities for intimate acquaintance. With fewer students, teachers can come to know each one well. Teachers can know each student's parents, his brothers and sisters, his home circumstances, his participation in community activities, and, on the basis of such knowledge, can truly work with him as an individual.

There is no guarantee, of course, that all small schools can or will take advantage of their natural advantages. Most of the experimental projects have attempted to capitalize on one or more natural advantages of small schools. And most have successfully demonstrated to some degree that significant improvements can be made. In no instance has any of the schools in any one of the projects attempted all of the innovations the projects have stimulated. Probably no school has fully realized the potential of what it has attempted. But there is encouragement in what has been done. There is every reason to support a belief that in every instance where a small school is a necessity, a high quality educational program can be developed.

INTERDISTRICT APPROACHES TO SPECIALIZED SERVICES

There is almost universal acceptance of the fact that individual teachers contribute more than anything else to determining the quality of an educational program. What teachers do and how they do it—enriching learning, making classroom situations and resources potent, helping learners respond to opportunities—seems far more important to quality than the content of the instruction. It follows, therefore, that a well prepared and competent teacher for every classroom is a prime essential.

But having teachers with the highest possible competence in every classroom is not enough. A high quality educational program requires, in addition, a wide range of supplemental and often highly specialized educational services. A competent teacher, receiving no assistance beyond his own skill and resourcefulness, can and does make many program accommodations for individual children. But even as vital as the teacher's role is in this respect, he can meet only a small part of the need acting alone. The extent and complexity of learning tasks often require specialized resources far beyond those available within the limits of the classroom. For some purposes, for example, general program enrichment such as provided by library and audiovisual services is needed. In other cases, services are needed only for certain pupils who have special problems, as in speech therapy or with severely mentally retarded children. In still other instances, services are needed for all pupils but only to identify those with special needs. Vision or hearing testing are illustrative. The point is that supplemental services not only have an important place in the educational program but their effectiveness depends greatly upon their variety and breadth.

The range of what might be regarded as supplemental services, i.e. services which contribute to the quality of a program but require assistance beyond what normally can be provided by the teacher in a classroom, are almost without limit. Included are guidance and counseling services; psychological services; specialized instruction in music, art, and industrial arts; special remedial help; library services; special assistance for children with speech or hearing or visual or other physical disabilities, and many more.

While some rural school districts, especially those in reorganized school districts, are able to provide most needed supplementary services, large segments of rural students do not have access to them.

The rapid expansion of educational service programs requiring continuously higher degrees of specialization and, consequently, a large base of operation, leaves even a majority of school systems which heretofore have sufficiently provided most supplementary services, unable to keep up with demands. These school systems, too, are without the ability to provide the kinds of supplementary programs which add to quality. Few local school systems are able, for example, to establish and staff clinical operations for the diagnosis of extremely difficult learning problems which some children have. Many are unable to include programs for certain types of handicapped children, to mount a research program likely to yield any substantial dividends, or to provide much specialized help for children having limited cultural backgrounds or who are otherwise disadvantaged. There are in addition many kinds of specialized educational services which by their very nature require an operating base larger than most local school systems. Educational television, a film library and instructional materials center, a data processing center, a comprehensive program of vocational education, and the provision of curriculum specialists who can work with teachers in curriculum revision and development are among such services.

Because many of these specialized kinds of educational service which make a great difference in the quality of the program provided are beyond the reach of reasonable provision by nearly all local school systems, there have been many and varied attempts to find some effective and desirable way to make them available. In almost every instance, some kind of interdistrict or cooperative program has been developed.

Interdistrict cooperative service arrangements exist in many forms. Perhaps the simplest form is that which requires no more than an agreement by two or more districts to jointly employ a particular individual. Such a procedure can be initiated by the districts themselves with the result that the individual employed actually works part-time for each district. He is directed separately by each administration and is paid separately by each. The employment plan and working policies may be jointly developed by the cooperating districts, or they may be independently determined. The individual employed through such a plan, for example, may be a teacher of music or driver education, a nurse, a reading consultant, psychologist, or a director of research.

More elaborate Statewide plans for developing interdistrict service programs of many types are now operating through the county superintendents in California, Washington, Ohio, and Iowa; through intermediate school districts in Michigan; and through the Board of Cooperative Educational Service in New York. Many other States are presently giving attention to developing some desirable and acceptable form of an interdistrict service agency within the formal framework of the State system of schools.

States or areas which have been operating some type of interdistrict program generally have judged them as being extremely successful. There have been problems, of course. New relationships between autonomous local districts and service agencies had to be worked out. Adequate financial arrangements to assure a competent staff of educational specialists had to be developed. Agreement over service priorities has not been easy. And there have been other kinds of difficulties which every pioneering effort to establish new working relationships is likely to encounter. But most of these problems have been overcome or are in the process of being resolved where there have been serious attempts to develop interdistrict services.

The achievements of these interdistrict service programs demonstrate that the efforts have been worthwhile. Where broad service programs have been developed, children attending school in the largest and the smallest communities have equal access to competent speech therapists, psychologists, music teachers, and library collections. They have equal access to the latest science equipment, mathematics concepts, and scholarship information. Teachers in the largest and smallest schools share jointly the services of curriculum consultants and the instructional materials center. Their school systems are involved in an area-serving data processing center, an experimental program for emotionally disturbed children, and a cooperative plan for purchasing everything from their paper towels and food for the school lunch program to furniture and school buses.

It should be pointed out that while the development of interdistrict service programs has probably done more to demonstrate the possibility of equal educational opportunity then any other recent development, it is an approach only in the beginning stages of development. Many States are yet to make provisions for such interdistrict cooperation. It may also be observed that population distribution has been an important factor favorable or unfavorable for development. Interdistrict service programs have developed most unevenly throughout the country with the most rapid growth in areas of population concentration. It is simply more costly and more difficult to develop and administer supplemental service programs in thinly populated areas. The potential, however, exists. Organizational patterns and procedures are being developed. And as States make appropriate provisions and provide adequate financial resources, services which help assure high quality educational programs for every community will be on the way. Developments in this area in the next decade are certain to have a tremendous impact on the educational opportunities available for all children and youth.

One of the important insights contributed by those areas which have been engaged in regional approaches to specialized educational services is the suggestion of a more appropriate design for a State system of schools than has yet fully emerged. While still a byproduct, new organizational forms may well achieve importance equally as significant as the specific services provided. Interdistrict cooperation implies not only a coordination and supplementation of local school programs but a completely new approach to a State's educational responsibility as well. Statewide networks of communications centers, data processing centers, and learning resource centers give promise for a much more effective way to stretch resources and implement programs than as yet has been developed. This implies a much closer interrelationship of local schools and local school districts, State education departments, area service agencies, and colleges and universities than now prevails. The improved communications, data gathering and processing, research, and expanded resources available to each local community should have a pervasive effect on the improvement of education in every State. The interdistrict agency should become an effective, responsive, viable arm of State school operation deserving of the highest level of support and encouragement. Developments in this area in the next decade are certain to have a tremendous impact on the educational opportunities available for all children and youth.

Schools have a responsibility to help students understand the kinds of circumstances they may meet when they enter the labor market as well as their own particular assets and weaknesses. This function is usually carried out through guidance activities in which counseling, testing, specialized information regarding occupations and careers, and the like are involved.

Present measures of the adequacy of guidance programs in the schools of rural areas indicate that large numbers of our young are not receiving this kind of assistance. The most recent data available shown that 41 percent of all schools having a senior class ranging from 0–24 pupils (2,557 schools) had no guidance program. The definition of a guidance program was having ". . . one or more persons . . . officially assigned, part- or full-time, to working with individual pupils." For the schools with senior classes between 25–99 pupils, 29 percent (2,498 schools) did not have guidance programs. Other data show that many of these schools reporting guidance programs in operation actually had counselors with much less professional preparation than is considered adequate and with counseling loads in many instances more than three times what is considered desirable for effective results. While there was not a rural-urban identification for these schools, many of those with inadequate programs or no program are in rural areas.

The importance of these facts becomes clear when the number of rural children and youth now in school is recognized. While the total rural-farm and nonfarm population is only about one-third of our Nation's total, approximately 45 percent of all school age children are in rural areas. They are there now. They are in school this year. Efforts to reorganize school districts and consolidate schools, to develop new approaches that can develop quality in the programs of schools that must remain small, and to establish effective ways to provide specialized services which supplement what individual teachers are doing cannot wait until next year or the next decade if they are to help these youngsters. We must develop improvements now.

Chapter 6

Vocational and Technical Education at the Post High School Level for Rural Youth

Prepared by Earl H. Knebel, Ph.D., Head of the Agricultural Education Department, Texas A. & M. University

Based on

Vocational and Technical Education at the Post High School Level for Rural Youth

Gerald B. James, D.Ed., State Director of Vocational Education, North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction.

H. G. Beard, M.S., Associate Director of Vocational Education, North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction.

Junior and Community Colleges in Rural Areas

David H. Bechtel, M.S., Administrative Assistant, Iowa State Department of Public Instruction.

Although most programs of vocational and technical education operated in the public schools and aided by Federal funds are centered in public high schools, a substantial and increasing number of vocational programs are now being provided for recent high school graduates, for high school dropouts who desire to renew or further their education, and for adults. Many different types of institutions provide various forms of vocational training for persons beyond high school. Some institutions, such as junior and community colleges, are comprehensive in nature; others, such as textile training schools, are highly specialized and deal with only one occupational field. In analyzing such vocational programs, one discovers there is no standardization of programs or terminology. Programs develop wherever an institution rises to meet the educational and vocational needs of post high school youth and adults. Preparatory vocational and technical training programs are often sponsored by institutions and agencies other than the public schools.

This chapter will be concerned primarily with public school sponsored programs of vocational and technical education at the post high school level. This chapter will be further limited to focus attention upon vocational and technical programs at the post high school level for rural youth.

More than four million youth, about one-third of America's 13 million youth between 15 and 19 years of age, live in rural areas of 2,500 population or less. They are, however, members of a highly urbanized society which is experiencing rapid and far-reaching technological and social changes. A high percentage of these rural youth must seek adult careers in urban centers, where according to a wide variety of reliable data, they will be at a disadvantage relative to their urban peers. One should be reminded this rural population is made up of both rural farm and rural nonfarm people, with the percentage of rural farm continually decreasing, with a compensatory increase in percentage of rural nonfarm population. No attempt will be made in this chapter to make any distinction between rural-farm and rural-nonfarm youth because the emphasis in this chapter is intended to focus upon educational opportunities of all rural youth. It would be futile and impractical to discuss education of rural youth as two separate segments of society since rural-farm and rural-nonfarm youth are indistinct segments of an amalgamated rural community.

New developments in education, such as emerging programs of post high school vocational and technical education, are closely related to accelerating technological advances and to the impact of these advances upon people. In recent times, considerable emphasis has been given new programs through local initiative, and through State and Federal legislation regarding unemployment, underemployment, and labor scarcities in certain jobs. These efforts, often in the form of crash programs, have been designed according to the socioeconomic environment of people involved.

When viewed more broadly, reports and research show that current developments in vocational and technical education have a wider base than stopgap programs. To combat unemployment, attention is being given to literacy training and to overcoming other cultural and general deprivations as well as to skill development. The term "culturally disadvantaged" has come into widespread usage. Attention is being directed to the problem of introducing youth to the complex world of work in such a way that motivation to prepare and to choose wisely will result. Considerable thought is being given to occupational choice and vocational maturity processes. The "whole" person is involved in the modern concept of vocational and technical education, and a rather complex educational curriculum is required to match well-trained people with job demands of today and tomorrow.

GENERAL NEEDS FOR POST HIGH SCHOOL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The pressing needs for post high school programs of vocational and technical education are accelerated by a number of economic and sociological factors. Automation, mechanization, urbanization, technological advances, and greater efficiency have increased productivity and have created many new types of jobs while eliminating the need for others. The result is a growing need for persons equipped with more exacting skills and more extensive knowledge. Much of this highly skilled or semiprofessional training must be given more mature persons in educational programs beyond the high school. High school programs cannot be expected to supply the labor force in keeping pace with the increasing demands for more and better trained workers. Post high school vocational programs are urgently needed to alleviate some of the problems of unemployment and underemployment.

As a result of technological advances, many jobs are being created which require training in general capabilities in an occupational field rather than training for specialized skills alone for a specific job which may become obsolete very quickly. In addition to the emerging technical jobs, the skilled trades increasingly demand conceptual as well as manipulative abilities. Preparation for jobs today must be general in terms of scientific and managerial concepts and principles; it must be vocational in the application of general learnings to occupational fields; and it must be cultural in the development of appreciation of change and adjustment. An increasing number of high school students must have an opportunity to continue occupational training after high school to fulfill these requirements.

Changing job requirements also mean continuing occupational training for persons who are employed. Not only must this training be aimed at keeping job competencies up to date, it must be aimed at developing an understanding of the social and economic forces at work, and it must allow adults to be a part of the process of change and adjustment. Adult education should be a logical, normal extension of education beyond high school.

There is a critical need for special training programs to deal with youth who did not succeed in school and who dropped out of school. Another need is to come to grips with the retraining of older workers who have become technologically displaced or otherwise deprived of their jobs. A prior consideration to occupational instruction designed to meet current needs is identification and effective educational contact with those to be trained. It must be recognized "disadvantaged" people are not in jobs nor in schools. Here again, critical problems emerge to challenge the need for general, cultural, and vocational education. Attitude development must be considered an essential element of such education.

NEEDS OF RURAL YOUTH FOR POST HIGH SCHOOL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Authorities agree that opportunities for rural youth to participate in vocational and technical programs, both at the high school level and post high school level, are severely restricted when comparing opportunities for urban youth. Job opportunities are more readily available to urban youth. Vocational programs in the public schools and other training programs are more comprehensive and more numerous for youth from urban areas. Accepting this recognized condition, those in responsible positions must give attention to the problems of rural youth by carefully planning and developing programs designed to assist high school youth and post high school youth from rural communities to be better prepared to secure and hold jobs in today's work world. Post high school vocational and technical education is one basic approach for helping rural people meet the job demands of the labor market.

The displaced worker, the school dropout, the unemployed, and the underemployed are more prevalent in rural areas of America. This problem has become acute in most rural communities. Rural schools do not provide the breadth of vocational education opportunities needed for satisfactory job entrance. Migration of rural people to urban areas, particularly of young adults, complicates the tasks of planning vocational programs matched with job opportunities. Educational resources in a rural community are more limited, and realistic job training is more difficult. Guidance and counseling services are generally less comprehensive in rural schools, and in most instances these services must be considered inadequate. Post high school vocational programs are practically nonexistent in most rural communities. Area vocational schools, community and junior colleges are developing in some rural communities; however, educational "equality" and occupational opportunity for rural youth may be questioned when comparing opportunities of urban youth.

Rural youth generally have limited perceptions of what lies ahead educationally and occupationally, and usually have little knowledge of their interests, abilities, and aptitudes. Considerable research has been undertaken to attempt to determine how occupational choices are made. Applying the question of occupational choice directly to rural youth, Burchinal and others have drawn the following inferences from research findings relative to occupational choices of rural youth:

1. The majority of rural youth must, by preference or necessity, move to urban areas in pursuit of adult careers.
2. Wide disparity frequently exists between occupational preferences or aspiration levels and available occupational opportunities.
3. Rural youth apparently are at a disadvantage when entering an urban labor market and competing with urban youth for available occupations.
4. Rural-farm youth are frequently at a greater disadvantage than rural-nonfarm youth upon entering the urban labor market.
5. Another disquieting result was reported. This was the strong negative influence that plans to farm had on plans to attend college. Yet, these farmboys need all the education, training, and experience they can obtain.
6. Occupational choices are based upon tentative occupational choices and arrived at by occupational role taking. This, in turn, is

related to the individual's social and psychological development. These highly personal choices are made in the context of an individual's experiences and resources; his knowledge of occupational alternatives, training requirements, and financial and nonmonetary rewards; and such important variables as his preferences or value systems and personality characteristics.

7. Rural youth from lower socioeconomic status families face special problems in occupational decision making. The probabilities of finishing high school, going to college, or entering above-average-paying occupations are considerably less for children from lower social families. Differences are not based on economic factors along (1).

Many study groups, including the 1963 National Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education, have pointed out the dire need for greater emphasis on formal occupational instruction after high school and for better high school preparation. This Panel, in its study of federally aided vocational programs, found that vocational education is not available in enough high schools and that post high school technical training is an especially critical need. In a special study made by the Panel in 3,733 public high schools in six representative States, only 5 percent offered distributive education courses, only 9 percent offered trade and industrial courses, and less than half offered courses in homemaking or vocational agriculture. Also, even in the largest cities, it was found that less than one-fifth of the high school students were enrolled in vocational programs, although two-thirds of those completing the high school curriculum will not complete 4 years of college education (2).

In these six States studied, the size of the community in which the school is located was an important factor in the enrollment in vocational education. With the exception of homemaking and agriculture, which were taken less frequently by students in communities with a population of over 30,000, enrollment as a percentage of the total enrollment in the public secondary school programs in agriculture, home economics, distributive education, and trades and industries decreased with a decrease in size of the community. This decrease was extremely sharp in trades and industries and distributive education in the smaller schools (2).

From this special study it is clear that urban youth have had better vocational opportunities than rural youth and that post high school educational opportunity has varied greatly among States and communities of different size. High school programs, particularly in rural schools, have not kept pace with the increasing needs of young people, their ultimate concentration in urban centers, and their special difficulties in entering the labor force.

Overall, there is a need for better high school and post high school vocational and technical education. Moreover, there are serious deficiencies in rural situations. At the same time, due to mobility of the population, there is a critical need to make a rich variety of vocational and technical programs available to all people, irrespective of situational differences. Rural youth, as well as urban youth, need comprehensive occupational training opportunities.

IMPORTANCE OF HIGH SCHOOL INSTRUCTION UPON POST HIGH SCHOOL TRAINING

There is a traditional tendency in public school secondary education, particularly in vocational and technical education, to assume ability grouping of people as a basis for organizing programs. "For the professionally skilled," "for skilled workers," "for technicians," "for the talented," "for the unskilled," are common terms used by counselors, teachers, supervisors, and administrators. Often, these classifications are based only on external subjective tests and measures and observations made by "experts" with little regard for the interests, needs, and desires of the people to be involved in the educational processes. Rather than be placed in categories, students should be permitted to enter occupational training and the world of work through a diversity of realistic educational experiences with the ultimate goal being individual human development. The overriding concern should be for better and more realistic educational opportunities for all. These educational experiences should include opportunities for students to develop interests and make self-appraisals under effective vocational guidance. Apparently, in the past, practice has assumed student readiness and student motivation to be automatic.

The foregoing points call attention to the inequality of education in many programs of instruction in secondary schools. The objective alert observer would surmise that youth attending small rural schools are the ones most commonly "short changed" and exploited. Post high school instruction must be dependent, at least in part, upon high school instruction. The focus of this chapter upon vocational and technical education of rural youth seems justified on the basis of inadequate educational opportunities in rural areas and not by the uniqueness of the nature of a particular kind of education needed by rural youth. The physician, the psychologist, and the sociologist would contend rural youth possess generally the same physical, psychological, and social characteristics as do urban youth. The pertinent point is that rural youth do not experience equal opportunities educationally and vocationally.

Recognizing the influence of high school education upon further occupational training leading ultimately to employment in the world of work, an Illinois study group on vocational and technical education made the following recommendations for major changes needed in Illinois high schools:

1. more emphasis, particularly in grades 9 and 10, on general knowledge of occupations;
2. more emphasis on guidance of students for vocational preparation at the 11th and 12th grades;

3. consolidation of specialized vocational programs in agricultural, trade and industrial, business, and homemaking fields on a large geographical area basis to serve a wide variety of needs effectively;
4. provision of opportunity for students who want to obtain an educational background for further preparation at technical levels of specialization beyond high school.

High schools should appropriately provide: occupational exploration and guidance; educational background for later specialized occupational training in high school and in post high school centers; and limited specialized training in the latter high school years for entry into occupations. It has been estimated that to do this effectively and to provide the diversity and quality needed in the spirit of a comprehensive high school requires an enrollment of 1,000 or more students. Although this figure is relative, the general smallness of rural high schools reflects the immensity of the rural problem (4).

POST HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR RURAL YOUTH

The development of vocational and technical education designed to meet the needs of persons beyond the high school has been gradual, with considerable acceleration in recent years. Recent Federal legislation will lend tremendous incentive for local communities and States to develop new vocational programs or strengthen existing programs. Technological advances have created demands for continuing education far beyond that normally experienced in the high school. Scarcity of jobs accompanied by higher skill levels confront youth. Social pressures for keeping youth in school longer has also been an influence on post high school education. Higher admission standards and restricted enrollments to colleges and universities have created a large reservoir of post high school youth seeking opportunities to enroll in post high school institutions. When confronted with the reality that only 40 percent of the Nation's youth continue their education beyond high school and only half of these complete 4 years of college, one readily recognizes the social and economic responsibility for providing other types of post high school education.

Other reasons for the upward shift in post high school vocational and technical education may be observed. The cost of equipment and facilities for vocational and technical programs is increasing, and the high schools cannot afford to provide costly equipment needed for specialized programs. Optimum enrollments in many vocational programs cannot be realized in most high schools. Vocational maturity and motivation to pursue occupational training generally emerge in the majority of young people too late for them to benefit materially from high school vocational programs. The prestige of the post high school institution is an incentive to many persons who do not want to return to high school because of past unhappy experiences. Implementation of recent Federal legislation for retraining adults to reduce unemployment is generally more conveniently developed in institutions beyond the high school.

Rural youth have the option of making decisions regarding their choice of many different types of post high school programs. As emphasized previously, rural youth may find it necessary to migrate to urban areas in order to continue their education or to find employment. They find many institutions and agencies other than the public schools providing occupational training. Some may be fortunate in finding a relatively satisfying job with the opportunity to receive additional training at the same time. The Armed Forces provide such opportunities to youth. Any person who has lived in a rural community will recall the appeal the Armed Forces offers to a considerable number of youth, and one can likewise observe the healthy effect of such training on youth.

An appraisal of existing post high school educational institutions should include private trade schools, business colleges, textile schools, schools of cosmetology, private and public junior colleges, community colleges, area vocational schools, rehabilitation centers, adult education centers, as well as standard colleges and universities. Vocational offerings and curriculums vary greatly among these institutions, and the length of training will range from short intensive training periods for occupational training of a narrow scope up to 2-year programs offering comprehensive programs of general, cultural, and vocational education training for occupations of the highly skilled technician and the professional. Most vocational and technical education programs do not extend beyond a 2-year period nor do they train for occupations beyond the highly skilled technician level.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY COMMUNITY AND JUNIOR COLLEGES

The junior college is becoming an important factor in program development in vocational and technical education. In early years, the junior college offered academic courses so that students could obtain approximately half of their college work in their home communities before going on to a senior college or university. The "college preparatory" objective has, in general, been the principal goal of most junior colleges. Gradually these junior colleges have introduced vocational programs in business, technology, and other fields. In most junior colleges, an adult education center or continuing education division accommodates young adults and adults who do not desire to pursue the traditional college lower division courses. Today, the modern junior college presents a wide range of curricular offerings including college transfer courses, preprofessional programs, general education and cultural education courses, continuing education programs for adults, as well as vocational and technical education programs in agriculture, applied and graphic arts, business and commerce, health services, home economics, and many industrial and technical occupational fields.

The community college concept which represents the current philosophical concept of the ideal junior college recognizes the expanding necessity of a multiplicity of post high school educational opportunities not necessarily of college level, for people of all ages. The emphasis on community college education has been radically altered in recent years. This has been caused by significant changes in our social, industrial, and economic structure. The concept of the community college, with its open door policy, with the majority of its educational offerings not oriented toward the college transfer function, under the control of the community or area it serves and to a substantial degree financed by this same area, is one that is being extolled to fill our present educational gap. In this type of institution attention can be placed upon the ever-changing civic, social, cultural, religious, and vocational needs of the entire community in which the college is located. Educational programs can be tied more closely to unique needs of the community. The function of the traditional junior college has been expanded into a more diversified institution offering cultural, vocational, and terminal programs as well as college level courses; this, then, is the community junior college.

Throughout the remaining discussion, junior colleges and community colleges will be discussed as one total group. For clarification purposes, the term "community junior college" will be used to denote this total group. Where a more specific reference by function is needed, the separate terms of junior college or community college will be used.

Public community junior colleges may be divided into four principal types: local, where the community junior college is an integral part of the local secondary school system; district, where the community junior college has its own defined district that it serves and from which it receives a portion of its financial support; branch, which may be either an off-campus or on-campus center or branch of a State college or university; State, placing the community junior college in the same category as other State-supported colleges or universities.

Private junior colleges are easier to classify. Normally, they are designated as church-related, being affiliated with and controlled by a religious denomination, and nonprofit or independent, an institution retaining all control within a self-perpetuating board. As the term junior college denotes, private junior colleges have generally remained closer to the original pattern of offering only the traditional 2-year college parallel courses.

Two basic trends, other than the one of change in function already mentioned, may be noted in the junior college movement. These involve a general increase in enrollments, with a distinct overbalance toward the public institutions, and a steady growth in the establishment of new institutions. Again, the majority of the increase of new institutions has occurred in those classified under public control. Many authorities in reporting the growth of community junior colleges have depicted them, on a percentage of previous enrollments, as the fastest growing segment of higher education. The 1963 *Junior College Directory* shows a total of 704 community junior colleges operating in 47 States and in four districts and territories of the United States with an enrollment of 745,394 youth and adults (5).

There is little doubt that community junior colleges have been able to perform the function of providing the first 2 years of a degree program. This has been the "bread and butter" offering of the college. There is, however, nothing unique in offering such a curriculum. Colleges and universities can and have continued to offer this same program. The rationale for a community junior college to undertake this program is to provide such education on a community basis, close to the place of residence, and also to do it at lower cost to the individual student. The only uniqueness of the preparatory function offered in a community junior college is one of availability.

With roughly only one-third of those students who enter this preparatory curriculum ever making a transfer to a 4-year college or university, it is obvious that the junior college can be of more educational value to the people of the community it serves by providing other needed post high school education opportunities. Thus, the introduction of the general and vocational and technical offerings at this level of education becomes a natural responsibility.

As the demand increases for more youth with a post high school education, and with the ever-increasing need to retrain, update, and upgrade adult workers, it is apparent that the uniqueness of the community college is in providing a wide range of the terminal programs. An institution providing for all these needs, the preparatory college transfer and the terminal, has been conceived as the exemplary community college.

The realization of the concept of the community college curriculum has been slow to materialize. The majority of the existing community junior colleges offer some terminal and vocational education. The breadth of such programs in most colleges, however, is severely limited. The lack of adequate financing, the scarcity of qualified terminal education staff, in many instances when available, the lack of compatibility of these people with the "college transfer" academic faculty, and the competition in the offering of these programs from the universities and colleges, technical and vocational schools and institutes, and other schools are some of the reasons for the slow development.

Regardless of the concept of the community college, the predominant educational offering of the majority of these schools whether they are called junior colleges, community junior colleges, or community colleges is still the college preparatory curriculum.

AVAILABILITY OF JUNIOR COLLEGE EDUCATION TO RURAL YOUTH

The present availability of community junior college education to rural youth is difficult to determine. A personal impression would be that rural youth do not have equal opportunity with urban youth. The major problem is how "equality" is defined. As desirable as it would be, the problem of the availability of community college education cannot be approached from the standpoint of obtaining complete equality between urban and rural youth. The pertinent issue is to make as available as possible these educational opportunities to all.

As with all educational programs, community junior colleges require a sufficient concentration of human and financial resources to justify their operation. As the purpose of the institution is changed from the junior college to the community college idea, the magnitude of these necessary resources is increased. While many junior colleges operate with 100 or fewer students enrolled, estimates range from 500 to 1,000 enrollees as minimums required for the efficient operation of a comprehensive community college. The specific location of these colleges, whether public or private, the program of instruction they offer, and the tuition and fee they charge would all be additional factors needing consideration.

The legal organization and control pattern used by community colleges has much to do in equalizing these opportunities. Those States having their community junior colleges administered through local or unified school districts are at a distinct disadvantage compared to those having either a State system of community colleges or a Statewide system of independent regional community junior college districts that encompass the entire State. Under the local or unified district approach there is little chance that any total system or pattern will develop. The State system has the potential to place these institutions where they are of maximum availability, although this does not necessarily happen. The Statewide system of independent area districts has the best chance of developing equality of community junior college operation.

AREA VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

Another developing trend in post high school vocational and technical education is the area vocational school. Area vocational schools are found in urban and rural communities. Those in urban settings provide short-term or part-time programs as well as preemployment training; those in rural areas more often provide only preemployment training. The scope and level of training in area vocational schools vary widely. Some schools include agriculture and business training; others may limit their offerings to the industrial fields. Industrial education centers are well established as area vocational schools in some States. Some schools are concerned with providing training for the semiskilled and skilled trades; others have developed highly specialized programs for the technician level skills. With the increasing demands of industry and the increasing emphasis placed on occupational training to combat unemployment and underemployment by the Federal and State governments, this phase of vocational and technical education is receiving a great amount of attention.

The National Vocational Education Act of 1963 defines the term "area vocational school" to mean:

1. A specialized high school used exclusively or principally for the provision of vocational education to persons who are available for full-time study in preparation for entering the labor market, or
2. The department of a high school exclusively or principally used for providing vocational education in no less than five different occupational fields to persons who are available for full-time study in preparation for entering the labor market, or
3. A technical or vocational school used exclusively or principally for the provision of vocational education to persons who have completed or left high school and who are available for full-time study in preparation for entering the labor market, or
4. The department or division of a junior college or community college or university which provides vocational education in no less than five different occupational fields, under the supervision of the State Board, leading to immediate employment but not leading to a baccalaureate degree,

if it is available to all residents of the State or an area of the State designated and approved by the State Board, and if, in the case of a school, department, or division described in 3 or 4, it admits as regular students both persons who have completed high school and persons who have left high school (8).

The 1963 Act further emphasizes the importance placed upon post high school vocational and technical education by earmarking "at least 33⅓ per centum of each State's allotment for any fiscal year ending prior to July 1, 1968, and at least 25 per centum of each State's allotment for any subsequent fiscal year shall be used only for the purposes set forth (for) vocational education for persons who have completed or left high school and who are available for full-time study in preparation for entering the labor market; (or) construction of area vocational education school facilities" (8).

Since the majority of rural high schools, even after reorganization, usually are not comprehensive enough to provide the diversity of occupational training needed, efforts should be made to provide specific occupational training on an area basis. A 1958 report of vocational and technical education for rural America had this to say about the area School movement:

> Although area vocational programs have many kinds of organizational patterns, all have two major characteristics in common: They prepare for specific employment, and they serve students from an area

that generally includes more than a single school district. Rather than being a special type of school, an area vocational program is a kind of *service*. It is an attempt to bring a varied and specialized offering of vocational education within the practical reach of all students and all communities, regardless of the size or affluence of individual school districts (9).

According to a report by the Area Vocational Education Branch of the U.S. Office of Education, virtually all States have some kind of area vocational schools in operation. This report lists characteristic results of the area school and area vocational education programs as follows:

1. reduced costs per school district for construction, operation, and administration;
2. broadened educational opportunities for numbers of rural and small city youth;
3. extended educational opportunities for adults through post secondary day and evening programs;
4. wider ranges of offerings in high level technical education, as well as in other vocational fields; and
5. attraction of quality teachers by means of better laboratory facilities, the opportunity to teach without classtime and other limitations of the more academically oriented school (7).

Questions related to post high school vocational and technical education for rural people arise when consideration is given to practical continuity of educational opportunity from rural high schools to area schools which are usually located in urban centers, and when consideration is given to apparent lack of motivation of rural people and limitations of local schools to provide appropriate continuing education for employed youth and adults. A more basic consideration is how rural leadership, on an area basis, can contribute to the development of better educational opportunity for both rural and urban people.

North Carolina is an example of a State that took significant steps toward meeting the educational and occupational needs of people by establishing a system of area industrial education centers for providing vocational and technical education. A recent report evaluating the higher education system of the State makes the following comments, in relation to these centers:

> The experience of a number of States indicates that technical vocational institutions eventually add general education curricula and become more comprehensive in scope. This tendency is already apparent with respect to the industrial education centers in North Carolina. There is recognition in many quarters in the State that the industrial education centers should make available a broadened curriculum in order to better serve student interests and needs. We strongly believe that the State Board of Education should make available instruction in the liberal arts in the industrial education centers at the earliest practicable date. On the other hand, the

> State, through the Community College Act, is already committed to supporting technical programs of college grade and college parallel courses in the community colleges.
>
> We believe that the industrial education centers and the community colleges will tend to become more alike than unlike; that the perpetuation of two increasingly similar but separate systems of post high school institutions of 2-year grade cannot be justified either on educational or on economic grounds; and that State-level supervision of the two systems by different agencies will lead to undesirable competition, lack of effectiveness and efficiency, and economic waste (6).

As a Nation, largely through the misguided efforts of well-meaning educators, we have reached a point where we are willing to judge the worth and dignity of an individual in direct relation to college attendance. John W. Gardner phrases it in an excellent manner when he writes:

> Properly understood, college or university is merely the instrument of one kind of further education for those whose interests and capacities fit them for that kind of further education. It should not be regarded as the sole means of establishing one's human worth. It should not be seen as the unique key to happiness, self-respect, and inner confidence.
>
> We have all done our bit to foster these misconceptions. The rest of the difficulty is our bad habit of assuming that the only meaningful life is the "successful" life, defining success in terms of high personal attainment in the world's eyes. Today attendance at college has become virtually a prerequisite of high attainment in the world's eyes so that it becomes, in the false value framework we have created, the only passport to happiness. No wonder colleges are crowded.
>
> The crowding in our colleges is less regrettable than the confusion in our values. Human dignity and worth should be assessed only in terms of those qualities of mind and spirit that are within the reach of every human being (3).

The need in this country for productive educated people is too great for us to be satisfied with taking the majority of our population through 12 stereotyped years of elementary and secondary school and then attempting to send all those who desire further education into a traditional 4-year college degree program. Realistic data tell us that not more than 20–30 percent of the total population can expect to be successful in completing the 4-year college program. Yet we as parents and we as educators adhere to the established attitude that the high road to success is in college attendance. How long can we afford to send our youth into post high school educational programs from which we know a great number will fail? How long can we afford to encourage youth to enroll in college when our conscience and good judgment tell us youth can find more satisfying, more productive experiences in pursuing a vocational technical program at a community junior college or even a terminal program at an area vocational school? Why do junior colleges lack prestige, even though we know these institutions aid youth to identify with satisfaction and success in developing skills and abilities to lead to productive employment? Perhaps we as parents, educators, and the public may soon recognize the dilemma our Nation faces. It may be that the community junior college can aid materially in filling the void; some believe it does.

WHAT AUTHORITIES SAY ABOUT POST HIGH SCHOOL VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Rather than to attempt to present a concise chapter summary, and rather than make the futile effort to develop a list of recommendations pertaining to vocational and technical education, the writer of this chapter believes it more prudent and more practical to submit some statements of position regarding vocational and technical education. The reader should not expect to find model organizational patterns for vocational programs, the ideal structural administrative pattern for a community junior college, or the recommended design for an area vocational school. The reader will, instead, find some basic statements that may prove to be helpful in planning, organizing, initiating, developing, and implementing programs of vocational and technical education. The emphasis, as throughout this chapter, will concentrate upon post high school vocational and technical education of rural youth.

Special acknowledgement should be paid to Gerald James, H. G. Beard, and David H. Bechtel, whose background papers for the Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment have been used in developing the theme of this chapter, and to the Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education whose report on *Education For A Changing World of Work* (2), and to C. Gilbert Wrenn whose book, *The Counselor In A Changing World* (10), have been used as references.

STATEMENTS OF POSITION REGARDING VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Of every 10 youngsters in grade schools in the United States, 3 will not complete high school, 7 will earn a high school diploma; of the 7 completing high school, 3 will go to work, some as wives and mothers, and 4 will continue formal education; of the 4 that continue their education only 2 will finish 4 years of college. The challenge for vocational and technical education is attending to the pressing needs of the 80 percent of our Nation's youth who will not finish college.

One-third of our Nation's 13 million youth between the ages of 15 and 19 live in rural areas but are members of a highly urbanized society. Most of these rural youth must seek adult employment in urban centers, where according to a wide variety of reliable data, they will be at a severe disadvantage relative to their urban peers. The lack of comprehensive vocational and technical education programs, particularly in rural areas, is an additional handicap.

The urgent need for post high school programs of vocational and technical education is accelerated by a number of economic and sociological factors. Automation, mechanization, technological advances, and greater efficiency have increased productivity and have created many new jobs while eliminating the need for others. The result is a growing need for persons equipped with more exacting skills and more extensive knowledge.

Education for occupational competency is a lifelong process that starts when one acquires his first basic skills and concepts and ends when he completes his last job. Much of the competency for occupational life is acquired outside formal education programs, but for many individuals there is a need for organized vocational education at successive stages. The need for new skills is especially great in an economy which is undergoing rapid technological change, as at present. Educating persons in the labor market to help them meet changes in their present jobs or prepare for new jobs is thus an important phase of the total program of vocational education.

We must understand that vocational choice is a process extending over years, that the student must be helped to make a series of choices as he becomes increasingly realistic about himself and the occupational world, that urging a student to "make up his mind" in the sense of a final settlement may be considerably more harmful than helpful.

Youth must be prepared for the inevitability of rapid change and be assisted in developing enough flexibility to meet these changes. Vocational planning should include the very real possibility that the vocation chosen may change materially within the next 10 years.

We must recognize the multifold functions of the public schools in developing intellectual, social, and vocational competencies in those to be served. General education including language and arithmetic skill, plus basic knowledge of the world about us, contributes indispensably to occupational competence. General education and vocational education are complementary and both important to occupational competence.

Wide variations exist among the States, and among schools in the States, in vocational offerings to high school students. The scope of the typical high school program is narrow in relation to the needs of the present day. Rural schools have given little attention to the occupational needs of students who migrate to urban centers. Reorganization of rural high schools to provide better and wider curricular offerings and consolidation of specialized vocational programs on an area basis are recommended. The large number of unemployed and underemployed rural youth and adults calls for an objective reexamination of high school and post high school vocational programs in rural areas.

Many authorities would insist that vocational and technical education programs at the post high school level can better meet changing conditions and can better serve the Nation's needs than can high school programs.

Prestige is an important factor in all vocational education programs, for traditionally, vocational education has been looked down upon by many academic educators and the public. In this respect, post secondary vocational and technical education has a distinct advantage over high school vocational education programs.

Vocational and technical education at the post high school level should serve high school graduates, adults, youth who have dropped out of school, and those with special educational handicaps; it should serve those who are preparing to enter the labor market or who have already entered the labor market but need to upgrade their skills or learn new ones. High quality vocational and technical education should be readily accessible to rural youth as well as all youth, and such education should be suited to their needs, interests, and ability to benefit from such training. Gainful employment is the ultimate goal.

Vocational and technical education programs should be based upon the unique needs and resources of the school community to be served. Vocational and technical education at the post high school level should include a wide range of occupational fields such as trades, industry, agriculture and agribusiness, health services, food services, distribution, and office occupations.

The area vocational school approach is one strategic means of meeting the educational needs of post high school youth. Area vocational schools may be designed to meet the unique needs of youth living in rural communities.

The community junior college concept, in the minds of many educators and authorities, approaches the most realistic and most practical means of meeting the needs of post high school youth and adults. It is predicted the community junior college will become the model institution for meeting the encompassing needs of post high school youth and adults for general education, cultural education, vocational education, and continuing education. The open-door policy advocated as one of the tenets of community college philosophy may lead to serving better the 80 percent of our Nation's youth who do not complete a college education as well as serving interested adults who need and can profit from further vocational and continuing education.

Appropriate vocational guidance of practical significance should be available to all who need and can profit from such service. Problems of motivation, attitude development, and the learning processes must be recognized as basic and interrelated aspects of human behavior.

We must recognize and encourage latent talent and creativeness in students, and we must assist in developing individual talents to the fullest extent. As educators, counselors, and parents we must understand the talented student who is creative and intellectually unconventional may often pose somewhat as a threat.

Many young people need occupational instruction, particularly if they have not been able to adjust to regular school programs and if they lack interest and motivation. A large portion of the high school dropouts are representative of youth with special needs. Those who leave school early are unprepared to enter the labor market where entry-level proficiency is demanded. Consequently, school dropouts comprise a large portion of the unemployed and underemployed.

Vocational counseling of girls involves the necessity of facing what will be for many of them a dual role, that of wife, homemaker, and mother, and that of worker in an occupation outside the home for some major part of her life. The girl who marries and works not only has two lives, a life in the home and a life on the job, but she has two relationships with her husband. This calls for a kind of marriage reality for which girls may be partially prepared before marriage.

Long-term planning of public education, particularly vocational and technical education, must be improved at the State and local levels. Although many excellent examples of planning can be cited, major problems exist in rural schools and in schools of large cities. Statewide coordination involving all groups concerned with the total effort of training and employment is imperative. This effort reaches far beyond that of public school education.

The continuing success of educational programs in a local area is dependent to a great extent upon the involvement of local people in planning, decision making, and support. Local involvement is basic; local control is fundamental.

The organization of content for programs of vocational and technical education involves continuity of occupational instruction closely tied to general education, vocational guidance, and the nature of technical jobs. Perhaps the most significant development for educational planners in the field of technical education is the abandonment of the idea of training for a single job. People to be trained should be broadly educated in terms of a pattern or cluster of occupations. In the training program, the acquisition of knowledge and understanding is prominent. This development implies the need for post high school students to have a substantial foundation of high school vocational experience especially to develop vocational skills. Also, it demands high school students be provided general education of high quality accompanied with vocational guidance.

Educators and counselors must keep abreast of changes in the occupational world of work into which students must move. This can be approached through study of reports in such areas as labor force changes and projections, the nature of the American economy, governmental responsibility, as well as literature in their own professional discipline.

Stimulus and support of vocational and technical education must continue to be an important responsibility of the Federal Government so that educational opportunities may be more fully equalized throughout the Nation. The Federal Government has a national concern for maintaining well-trained manpower to support its economy.

Vocational and technical education is costly; it cannot be bought "cheap" at reduced bargain prices; even at rather high costs, vocational and technical education may prove to be a very wise and sound investment in people and in the welfare and economy of the Nation. The long-range returns, no doubt, will far outweigh the investment in America's youth and the Nation's people.

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Chapter 7

Special Problems in Financing Rural Education

By Victor O. Hornbostel, Ph.D., Assistant Research Director, National Education Association

The special problems of financing rural education are part of the more general problem of school finance. Therefore, some information on the financing of all public schools is presented in order to see rural school finance in its setting. The discussion centers on six main questions:

1. What is the educational task of rural education?
2. What are the resources for supporting rural education?
3. What authority do school boards have for establishing the school program and financing it?
4. How do States support rural education?
5. What kind of Federal support does rural education receive?
6. What are some of the possible future directions for rural school finance?

EDUCATIONAL TASK OF RURAL EDUCATION

Many authorities have outlined in great detail the educational job facing rural America. Only a general outline of the educational task is needed here for the purpose of discussing what the financial problems are.

All schools are subject to a certain basic cost, which may be influenced by the standard of living, inflation, and other factors (7). Above the basic cost are additional special costs such as transportation, other cost elements arising from sparsity of population in farm areas, and some of the other special programs that are needed.

It is likely that the cost per pupil will be highest in the big cities and in the rural areas if the special costs connected with what should be accomplished are considered. This hypothetical framework can be contrasted with what now is actually spent on education where suburban areas tend to lead in expenditures per pupil.

There are certain special groups whose education, if provided at all, is a responsibility of rural education. Among these groups are children of migratory workers, children who live in a bilingual environment, and children from different ethnic groups.

Another very large factor in the total cost of education is the sheer increasing number of school age children. Information from the U.S. Bureau of the Census shows that the farm population including those of school age is decreasing. However, the rural nonfarm population is increasing rapidly. This increase in numbers is driving total costs up rapidly, although per pupil costs may be increasing only slowly.

There is not a school or a census breakdown that defines the number of rural children in a way that applies uniformly to State school finance systems. Fortunately, this specificity is not required for describing important aspects of rural school finance problems. In general, the children involved are those in a rural environment or in surroundings essentially rural in character (17).

If rural education is to be improved, many innovations will be needed; many have already been tried. The reader may be familiar with the studies of the conditions under which the children of migratory workers live, the ways that instruction in small schools can be improved, such as the Catskill Area Project in New York State and Small High School Project in Colorado, and the array of newer educational media available—programed learning, educational television, paperback books—for helping to solve instructional problems.

It is not necessary to assume that solutions to rural educational problems will necessarily involve added costs. School finance structure should be developed so that it works as well when costs decrease as when costs increase. However, the pressures are such that costs are likely to increase. The outlook for the continued rise in our standard of living is only one factor which strongly attests to this.

The kind of finance structure with which we should be concerned is one which will enable local boards of education to provide the kind of education needed by all children so that they can be effective workers and citizens, whether they remain in their home community or migrate.

RESOURCES FOR SUPPORTING RURAL EDUCATION

Financial resources for supporting all governmental services, including rural education, come mainly from taxes on property, taxes on sales, and taxes on income. How these three main revenue sources bear on school finance is described briefly in the following paragraphs.

Property Tax

Of the various types of taxes, table 1 shows that the property tax is second in fiscal importance in the whole of public finance in the United States. It is very important to most local governments and is almost the sole local resource of school districts. Table 3 shows that 57 percent of school revenue comes from local sources. In a recent year, about 94 percent of this local share was raised by taxes on property (10).

TABLE 1. Total Tax Collections for 1961 of Local, State, and Federal Governments in Order of Fiscal Importance (5)

[Exclusive of payroll taxes]

Tax	Percent of total collections of $116,331 millions
Income	57.0
Property	15.4
Motor fuels	5.0
General sales	4.7
Alcoholic beverages	3.4
Motor vehicles	3.2
Tobacco	2.6
Death and gift	2.1
Customs	.8
Others	5.8
	100.0

The property tax has received severe criticism from many sources (3). A common complaint is that assessments within a taxing district vary widely as they do between taxing districts. In many taxing districts, assessments are made at only a minor fraction of the full value of the property. Some property is partially exempt from taxation through homestead exemptions and veterans' exemptions, and other types of property are completely exempt. These practices tend to limit and to shrink the property tax base.

On the other hand, for at least the past decade the property tax has met new demands made upon it year by year. Increased revenues have come in part from new construction, from increased valuations, and from higher tax rates. Between 1956 and 1961 the national total of assessed values rose from $272.4 billion to $355.7 billion, and total property tax revenue for the same period increased from $11.7 billion to $18.0 billion (20).

Some States and the localities within them use the property tax much more heavily than other States and localities. There are many communities in which the question of increased property tax levies is very serious. In general, the higher property tax States are Eastern, Northern, and Western States, and the lower property tax States are Southern. Therefore, one cannot make a flat assertion on whether or not more revenue for schools can be expected from the property tax. Each community must be examined separately for the answer to this question.

Sales and Income Taxes

If one combines selective sales taxes on such items as tobacco and gasoline with general sales taxes, the combined group is about the same as the property tax in fiscal importance. Sales taxes provide much of the revenue for State governments.

The income tax in some form is used by over two-thirds of the States, but most of the income tax revenue is collected by the Federal Government.

For rural school finance and for all school finance this brief outline of tax resources suggests that if increased financing is to come from local communities, this means essentially a decision to raise property taxes. If State school aid is to be increased, the revenues will come in large part from taxes on sales and income; and, if Federal support is increased, the revenue will come mainly from taxes on income.

Another fact of importance in making decisions on taxes is provided in a recent study in New York State which showed that about 90 percent of the taxable resources in the State, regardless of how measured, are located in the seven metropolitan areas of the State (18).

AUTHORITY OF SCHOOL BOARDS ON PROGRAM AND FINANCE

The power of local boards of education in regard to the school program and school finance is governed by the responsibility that has been delegated to them by the State. In most States the only authority local boards have in finance is that of certifying a levy on the property tax, and in many States narrow limits are placed on this authority. This means that, in the absence of aid from the State or the Federal Government, if a school board wants to implement changes in a program that requires additional finance, the revenue must be raised from the local property tax.

Many situations that rural school boards face require flexibility in financial arrangements. If they are to gain flexibility, it will be through the State. Thus, the health of local finance depends upon State law.

The crucial position of the State also extends to Federal support for education. This fact is only beginning to be realized by a few States that are coordinating the Federal aid for federally impacted areas into the State school finance systems.

There are many unresolved problems in these relationships but the important point is that good State school finance policy will influence both local finance and Federal finance.

STATE SUPPORT FOR RURAL EDUCATION

Educational costs consist of the purchase of teaching service, of the different kinds of materials for instruction, and of buildings and equipment. Comparable figures on cost components are difficult to find, and it is even more difficult to find figures for cost comparisons between rural and urban schools. However, recent figures on overall costs by States provide some useful information.

Table 2 shows that for the 1962–63 school year the estimated cost of education per pupil in average daily attendance was $432. This

TABLE 2. Estimated Expenditures Per Pupil in Average Daily Attendance for Public Schools, 1962–63, by State (16)

State	Per pupil in ADA
50 States and D.C.	$432.00
Alabama [a]	255.00
Alaska	[b] 620.00
Arizona	445.00
Arkansas	279.23
California	[c] 515.54
Colorado	437.00
Connecticut	522.00
Delaware	502.00
Florida	347.00
Georgia	297.76
Hawaii	382.00
Idaho	314.00
Illinois	526.04
Indiana [a]	405.00
Iowa	414.00
Kansas	422.00
Kentucky	275.00
Louisiana	379.00
Maine	338.00
Maryland	469.00
Massachusetts	465.00
Michigan	447.00
Minnesota	480.00
Mississippi	230.00
Missouri	404.92
Montana	459.00
Nebraska	$355.00
Nevada [a]	441.00
New Hampshire	399.00
New Jersey	556.00
New Mexico	421.00
New York	645.00
North Carolina	297.00
North Dakota	395.00
Ohio	422.45
Oklahoma	342.00
Oregon	501.94
Pennsylvania	464.00
Rhode Island	467.00
South Carolina	236.94
South Dakota	390.00
Tennessee	262.00
Texas	379.00
Utah	354.00
Vermont	362.00
Virginia	335.00
Washington	488.00
West Virginia	297.50
Wisconsin	467.00
Wyoming	510.00
District of Columbia	455.72

[a] Estimated by National Education Association Research Division.
[b] Based on Consumer Price Index of 106.1, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, September 1962.
[c] ADA used in calculating per-pupil expenditures excludes excused absences.

figure is for the United States as a whole and includes the cost of such items as instruction and transportation but excludes the cost of buildings. Since there is much fluctuation from year to year in construction (capital outlay), it is usually omitted from cost-per-pupil figures. Also, average daily attendance is used because of the accuracy of the daily count, although this results in a higher unit cost figure than if cost-per-pupil enrolled were used.

The per pupil cost was much higher in some States than in others. The estimated expenditure for New York was $645 per pupil, the highest State average; that for Mississippi was $230, the lowest State average.

These 1962–63 cost figures are not available for rural schools separately, but it is generally known that the average per-pupil expenditure in rural schools is lower than that in urban schools if one eliminates several extreme cases in both categories. Several years ago the average expenditure in the most rural counties was about two-thirds of the expenditure in the most urban counties (4).

In addition to the generally lower level of expenditure in rural schools than in urban, the expenditure varies widely among the rural schools themselves. An argument can be made that some difference in costs is normal because of differences in the price of the elements that go into providing education. On the other hand, expenditure variations are so extreme that it is unlikely that those on the low end of the expenditure scale are able to purchase the same quality of instruction as those on the upper end of the scale.

If the expenditures are to be made, revenues must be raised. Table 3 shows that the total estimated revenue for the public schools in the 50 States and the District of Columbia was $18.5 billion for 1962–63. Almost all this revenue for schools comes from taxes: 3.6 percent was provided by the Federal Government; 39.4 percent was provided by the State government; and 57.0 percent was provided by local governments, mostly school districts but including counties in States where some school revenue is raised on a county basis.

TABLE 3. Estimated Revenue Receipts for Public Schools, 1962–63, by State and Source of Receipts (16)

State	Total revenue receipts (in thousands)	Percent of revenue receipts		
		Federal	State	Local and others[a]
50 States and District of Columbia	$18,548,161	[b] 3.6	39.4	57.0
Alabama[c]	198,000	6.0	66.7	27.3
Alaska	35,000	24.9	55.7	19.4
Arizona	158,000	7.3	35.7	57.0
Arkansas	117,152	8.5	45.9	45.6
California	2,450,000	3.5	39.8	56.7
Colorado	218,000	4.6	24.3	71.1
Connecticut	288,500	2.2	35.4	62.4
Delaware	53,500	3.0	81.1	15.9
Florida[d]	435,829	[e] 3.9	[e] 53.0	43.1
Georgia	304,720	4.9	66.4	28.7
Hawaii	66,500	8.3	66.2	25.5
Idaho	58,491	3.8	32.4	63.8
Illinois	951,471	2.8	19.8	77.4
Indiana[e]	472,000	3.6	30.7	65.7
Iowa	251,000	2.0	12.5	85.5
Kansas	243,750	4.1	20.8	75.1
Kentucky	203,000	4.4	58.2	37.4
Louisiana	298,000	2.0	68.5	29.5
Maine	77,600	5.7	24.7	69.6
Maryland	316,700	5.5	35.9	58.6

TABLE 3. Estimated Revenue Receipts for Public Schools, 1962–63, by State and Source of Receipts (16)—Continued

State	Total revenue receipts (in thousands)	Percent of revenue receipts		
		Federal	State	Local and others [a]
Massachusetts	401,500	4.9	24.1	71.0
Michigan	883,230	2.7	42.8	54.5
Minnesota	431,000	2.6	37.1	60.3
Mississippi	138,400	5.8	60.0	34.2
Missouri	349,000	2.6	34.9	62.5
Montana	82,000	4.9	23.2	71.9
Nebraska	117,000	4.3	6.0	89.7
Nevada	37,100	7.8	53.1	39.1
New Hampshire	47,922	5.2	6.7	88.1
New Jersey	681,000	2.3	22.8	74.9
New Mexico	102,402	11.5	76.7	11.8
New York	2,172,000	1.7	44.2	54.1
North Carolina	358,000	5.0	69.8	25.2
North Dakota	62,100	5.8	25.0	69.2
Ohio	1,109,000	2.4	22.7	74.9
Oklahoma	205,000	8.3	28.3	63.4
Oregon	229,800	4.4	29.5	66.1
Pennsylvania	1,045,866	3.0	42.0	55.0
Rhode Island	68,603	4.4	26.4	69.2
South Carolina	169,100	7.4	65.6	27.0
South Dakota	61,900	9.0	11.8	79.2
Tennessee	232,000	4.1	55.0	[f] 40.9
Texas	924,000	3.1	52.3	44.6
Utah [g]	113,790	4.8	48.6	46.6
Vermont	32,400	2.9	22.2	74.9
Virginia	330,100	6.1	40.9	53.0
Washington	359,500	4.9	62.0	33.1
West Virginia	132,000	4.5	55.3	40.2
Wisconsin	368,500	2.8	23.9	73.3
Wyoming	40,100	2.7	42.4	54.9
District of Columbia	66,635	13.7	------	86.3

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[a] Includes revenue receipts from local and intermediate sources and gifts and tuition and fees from patrons.

[b] In collecting this information no special effort was made to include the money value of commodities distributed under the School Lunch Program. It is possible that many states have not included such monies in reporting Federal revenue receipts.

[c] Estimated by National Education Association Research Division.

[d] Includes receipts for public junior colleges.

[e] Federal funds for vocational education and National Defense Education Act program have been included as State revenue.

[f] Includes funds of city and county governments for debt service for school buildings amounting to $19,000,000.

[g] Original figures for revenue receipts have been adjusted by National Education Association Research Division to include funds for school lunch program not covered by the sale of meals.

The proportion of school revenue from the Federal Government is not very high for any State, with the exception of Alaska. But the proportionate amounts of State and local revenues vary widely among the States. In Delaware, the State provided 81.1 percent of the revenue, the highest level of State support. The lowest level of State support was in Nebraska, which provided 6 percent.

There is no special value as such in a certain percent of school revenue being derived from State sources. However, greater State revenues for schools can greatly increase the flexibility of local school finance. Much of the literature on State school finance centers around a discussion of the foundation program which is essentially a method by which State revenue is distributed. The analysis here, however, consists of a framework that can be applied to any State, whether or not its State school finance program is formally designated as a foundation program. In this framework every grant by the State to local school systems may be considered to be (a) a general grant or a grant for a specific purpose; (b) it may be based upon the concept of equalization of educational costs to local communities or it may be a nonequalizing grant, a flat grant; or (c) it may be a fixed amount per pupil or the amount may vary with local costs (1).

A general grant is a sum which is provided for all or most of the usual school functions. Thus it might be a sum such as $100 per pupil or $3,000 per classroom provided for the usual school expenses. A specific purpose grant is one that is provided usually for a single service such as for science instruction or for transportation.

An equalizing grant is one in which the specific amount depends in part upon the wealth of a community. For example, if the overall sum in which the State and the local community share is $100, a community of average wealth might by local taxes raise $50 of the $100, and the State grant would amount to $50. A poorer community at the same rate of taxation might raise only $25, and the State grant would be $75. Or in a community of greater wealth, the local share might be $75, and then the State grant would be $25. In each instance the local tax rate would be the same if the equalization were ideal. A nonequalizing grant—flat grant— is a stated sum per unit of need that is provided without regard for the wealth of the local community.

A fixed grant is a finance system in which the State and the local community share in supporting a unit of educational need. It differs from a flat grant in that the flat grant is a fixed sum provided by the State without regard to a local share. A variable grant system is one in which a local community may elect to make a greater tax effort to support a higher cost level of education such as $450, and the State then maintains its proportionate share of the higher level. If the variable grant is combined with equalization, such a system would permit poorer communities to support the same cost level as wealthier communities at the same rate of local taxation. In many respects the variable grant on an equalization basis and for general purposes is regarded as an ideal way for financing schools.

In actual practice State finance systems consist of mixtures of several of all these types. Many of the grants affecting rural education are specific grants, which in the following paragraphs are described under these topics:

1. Adjustment for sparsity of school population.
2. Support for pupil transportation.
3. Support for buildings.
4. Support for junior colleges.

Adjustment for Sparsity of School Population

The adjustment for sparsity of population may be made on the unit of educational need regardless of the type of State grant. The theory is that since classes in a minimum number of grades and subjects need to be maintained, these classes might actually have fewer pupils than a normal class of 25 pupils; and yet, it is reasonable to expect the cost of the smaller class to be about the same as that of the usual one. Thus, the small classes (classes in school districts of certain enrollments) are assigned weights to compensate for size. Also, one assumes that no better educational alternative is available to these pupils within the given cost ranges.

For example, in Kansas (13) one weighting factor in the apportionment of the elementary school finance fund is that one classroom unit is allotted for each one-teacher school with 10 or more pupils. For units with *two or more* teachers the weightings are as follows:

Enrollment	*Classroom units allotted*
First 12 pupils	1.
13–48 pupils	3+⅛ per each pupil over 12.
49–360 pupils	3+1/24 per each pupil over 48.
361–2,460 pupils	16+1/28 per each pupil over 360.
Over 2,460 pupils	91+1/32 per each pupil over 2,460.

There is a separate weighting in Kansas for the apportionment of the State high school finance fund.

Weights are used in North Dakota (15) for the apportionment of the State equalization fund. This system combines weightings for sparsity of school population and for the higher costs of high school education. The weightings are 1.5 for one-room rural schools for the first 16 pupils in average daily membership, 1.25 for elementary schools with less than 100 pupils for the first 20 pupils, and 1.32 for high schools. For situations not specified the weighting is 1.0.

One problem with weightings for sparsity is that the system may actually keep some schools in existence when alternate plans for the education for the children might hold better promise. Recently, the sparsity corrections in State aid laws have been questioned on two counts: They often are based upon actual expenditures rather than upon what should be spent justifiably under the circumstances; and they have contributed to the rural-urban divisiveness in State legislatures when cooperation might well have served better all groups (2). This approach to State school finance requires additional study.

Support for Pupil Transportation

One can maintain that transportation in itself is not educational and that therefore the State should bear the full cost. However, most States share the cost of pupil transportation as a specific aid. Beyond being treated as specific, aid for transportation is granted on both the equalization and nonequalization basis, and is granted as some portion of a *fixed* sum such as $50 per pupil transported or on a variable base such as the total cost of pupils transported.

For example, transportation aid in Wisconsin (12) is specific in purpose, nonequalizing, and fixed. All school districts must provide transportation for resident pupils residing 2 or more miles from school. For those who are transported distances of 2 to 5 miles the State grants $24 per pupil per year; for those who are transported over 5 miles, the State grants $36.

In Nevada (14) transportation aid is general in purpose, equalizing, and variable. Half the cost of transportation excluding the cost of new buses, is one of the factors in the apportionment of the distributive school fund through which 99.2 percent of the State funds are granted. Equalization comes through the feature which ties the entire program to the yield of a seven-mill local tax.

Alternate means of transportation need to be considered in accomplishing the educational objectives for rural children. In very isolated areas some air transportation may be needed. Transportation, too, is the section in State school finance plans where the alternative of board and lodging is specified if offered as a solution to the sparsity problem. Perhaps some of instructional media such as programed learning, television, films, and correspondence can receive wider experimentation for some of the especially troublesome problems.

Support for Buildings

Some State assistance for buildings will benefit rural education, especially when the road to improvement is sought through reorganization of school districts. There are two troublesome areas in regard to buildings: One is the authority of local school districts to borrow the money for buildings, and the other is the raising of revenues to pay for them.

In most States, the amount of debt that can be incurred by most school districts is limited to a stated percent of the district's total property valuation. This commonly is a limit such as 10 percent of the assessed valuation. The problem with the debt limitation being placed on the assessed value of property is that it is often low in relation to the true value. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, on the average, property in the United States is assessed at about 30 percent of true value.

The other aspect of the problem of assessed valuations is that their relation to full valuations among districts vary widely. Thus, school districts in many States are not on an even base for the purpose of borrowing. The remedy for this situation is to amend the State constitution or statutes—wherever the limiting authority resides—so that debt limits are on the full valuation.

But to provide realistic debt limits does not care for the problem of raising the revenue to meet the debt service requirements. About three-fifths of the States grant funds for capital purposes, with most of the grants being specified for the immediate capital payment and a minor percent applicable to payment of amortized debt and interest.

The State of Washington (11) is a good example of a program of building aid. It can be described as specific in purpose, equalizing, and variable. The allocation formula provides an amount of assistance graduated downward from 90 percent to zero of the cost of approved projects.

Support for Junior Colleges

Rural youth should have as much opportunity for education for the 13th and 14th years as urban youth. With the present expanded age groups of youth in high school today it is only a matter of a year or two until the already swelling pressure for junior college opportunities will be greatly intensified.

Organization and finance for junior colleges are both in their formative stages. In 1960–61 there were 452 institutions that could be classed as public 2-year colleges. Of the total, 303 were local 2-year colleges, 22 were State 2-year colleges, 12 were State technical institutes, 89 were branch or extension centers, and 27 were in a miscellaneous group (9).

Two approaches for financing local junior colleges are being used. One permits a tuition charge, the other does not. In States like Kansas and California, junior college education is provided tuition free. Thus, in Kansas all funds for the operation of local junior colleges comes from the local school district. In California, 78 percent of current operational funds come from local sources and 22 percent from the State. In California the State aid is specific as to level of schooling and is granted on an equalization basis. The foundation amount is fixed at $543 per student, with a floor for State aid set at a minimum of $125.

In most other States that have local junior colleges, tuition is charged. The pattern of Maryland and New York is that one-third of the operational funds come from State sources, one-third from local sources, and one-third from student tuition.

One question which needs serious consideration as 13th- and 14th-year education is provided through local school systems is whether, with current methods of school finance, their local development requires a substantial increase in the property tax. The advantage is that this ties the junior colleges into a system of local school government that has served well the operation of elementary and secondary schools. However, the question of further demands on the property tax is so important that alternate ways for development of junior colleges should be explored.

Several years ago an important proposal was suggested for Illinois, although as yet it has not been adopted (8). Under the proposal the State would be divided into 10 regions, but there would be more than 10 school centers. Both academic and technical curricula would be offered—not all at each school, but in strategic locations and in a coordinated system. For financing the system, one method suggested was for outright State support; another method was for a combination of State and regional taxes. Under both methods tuition of not to exceed $150 annually per student could be charged.

If States can move on an imaginative approach to education for the 13th and 14th years, both rural and urban youth will benefit as will the State and Nation.

FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR RURAL EDUCATION

Table 3 showed that public schools received an estimated 3.6 percent of their revenue from the Federal Government for the 1962–63 school year. Most of the Federal funds are provided for a few specific programs. Among the more prominent of these programs are those for vocational education, for school lunch, for support in school districts in which Federal activities have caused a marked influx of school population (impacted area aid), and for certain parts of the school program under the National Defense Education Act. In terms of the analysis of State aid programs of the preceding section, most Federal support is for specific purposes, is nonequalizing in local districts, and is fixed in amount.

Vocational Education

Support for vocational education could well have been discussed in the preceding section on State aid as one of the specific ways that States aid education. However, the description follows here, since development of vocational education has been connected so closely with the stimulation it received with the passage of the Federal Smith-Hughes Act in 1917.

The Smith-Hughes Act originally provided for Federal cooperation with the States for education in agriculture, home economics, and trades and industries. In 1936, Federal funds were added for training in distributive occupations. In 1956 the scope of federally aided vocational education was enlarged to include support for practical nurse training and for training in the fishery trades and industries. In 1958, Title VIII of the National Defense Education Act provided support for training highly skilled technicians necessary for national defense in the area vocational education program (19). The Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88–210) was enacted into law on December 18, 1963. It authorizes greatly increased Federal appropriations in support of vocational education programs in the various States. These appropriations are to be used to assist States to maintain, extend, and improve existing programs and to develop new programs of vocational education. Provision is also made for part-time employment for youth who need the earnings from such employment to continue their vocational training.

The Federal appropriations for vocational education are designed to stimulate instruction in the specified fields. The Federal funds require dollar-for-dollar matching with State or local funds. As these programs have developed, State and local funds have outstripped Federal funds. During the 1958–59 school year, of the $231 million expenditure for vocational education, $186 million was supplied by State and local government; the remaining 19 percent, by the Federal Government (6).

One of the problems with having special emphasis on vocational education is that the training in small high schools is largely confined to agriculture and home economics. Yet about half the farm youth can be expected to migrate to cities. Also, not more than two-thirds of employed persons who reside on farms are actually engaged in agriculture. These facts suggest a need for categories which are less narrow, so that States and localities can develop programs of vocational education more closely related to the subsequent employment opportunities for youth.

School Lunch Program

For the 1959–60 school year the value of the Federal funds and commodities for the school lunch program was $306 million, and the special milk program provided another $79 million. Under recent legislation these funds are apportioned on the basis of the number of children actually in the school lunch program, and there is some equalization. From the standpoint of school finance these funds are not educational funds as such; but, in working for the flexibility needed to finance programs for the underpriviledged, such as the migrant workers, assistance from every source is needed (6).

Federally Affected Areas

Public Law 874 provides funds for the current operation of schools and Public Law 815 provides assistance for school construction in areas where the Federal Government has an obligation to share the costs of education of children whose parents live or work on Federal property, such as Army bases, Navy shipyards, airfields, and missile installations. The Federal share is based upon several categories of Federal involvement and upon school costs typical of the area. Payments are made directly to the school systems involved. In 1959–60, there were 3,750 districts eligible for support of the current operation of schools, and the amount appropriated by Congress was $186 million. On October 2, 1959, there were 4,518 construction projects for which Federal funds were reserved, and for the 1958–59 school year $76 million of Federal construction funds were disbursed (6).

Probably not much of this support is of direct help in financing rural education. Yet there are exceptions such as the provision for helping educate children residing on tax-exempt Indian lands in the Western States. Of general interest, however, is the fact that in this program Federal funds for the current operation of schools is granted as general aid as distinct from almost all other Federal programs which are for specific purposes. This program demonstrates that the Federal Government can provide general support for schools, and that under it there has been no control of school curricula.

National Defense Education Act

Title III of the National Defense Education Act provides, among other things, for assistance to local school systems for acquiring equipment and undertaking minor remodeling to strengthen instruction in science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages. Title V–A provides assistance to the States for establishing and maintaining programs for testing students in secondary schools and for providing them with counseling services. Funds granted under these programs are subject to State or local matching (6).

An argument against support for specific subjects is that these subjects may be emphasized at the expense of other subjects which may be just as much in need of support. On the other hand, the amount of aid under the National Defense Education Act has been small and has stimulated improvement in the subjects covered. One proposed modification to the National Defense Education Act is to add English, social studies, and possibly other subjects to its provisions for aid and thus round out the program. A counterproposal is that any additional Federal aid should be for general school purposes so that local school boards can decide for what the allocation should be used.

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Chapter 8

Educational Status of Rural Youth

***By Charles B. Nam, Ph.D., Professor, Department of Sociology, Florida State University; Mary G. Powers, Ph.D., Statistician, Demography Education and Social Stratification Branch, Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census*[1]**

Contemporary American society has been witness to what might dramatically be called an "educational revolution." Within the lifetimes of most of us, vast improvements have occurred in the educational status of the population. Ours is the only country in the world in which the majority of young adults has completed high school and almost one-fourth has completed one or more years of college. Yet, much research has indicated that educational opportunity and educational achievement are not distributed to the same extent among all groups in the population (1, 7). There are marked differences in the educational level of rural and urban residents, of whites and nonwhites, of high and low socioeconomic groups, and among residents of different sections of the country.

This chapter explores some of the factors associated with one set of these differentials, that existing between rural and urban youth. The topics discussed include educational attainment, enrollment rates, patterns of school retardation, factors related to school enrollment and school retardation, and future educational prospects. Differences by region, age, sex, color, education of adults, and socioeconomic status are examined, and an attempt is made to determine the relative effect of each on the educational status of youths.

The analysis is based largely on facts obtained from the 1960 Census of Population and from the large sample surveys taken by the Bureau of the Census in recent years.[2]

In general, census data provide only an aggregate or gross picture of educational conditions. Missing from these data are numerous factors which represent important influences on the educational status of young people—individual abilities, local school standards, quality of staff and facilities, courses of study, policies with respect to promotion, family backgrounds, and the attitudes and values concerning education which family members and friends of the young persons hold. Census data serve the purpose, however, of providing a broad perspective of the results of these factors, and they enable those concerned with the problems of education to focus on areas of the country and subgroups within the population which need special attention.

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[1] The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Bureau of the Census.

[2] Since Census Bureau data used in this study are taken from more than one source, the correspondence between figures is not always complete.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF RURAL ADULTS

The extent to which adults in an area are well-educated is an indication not only of the welfare of the area, but of the prospective educational status of the area's youth as well. The educational heritage which adults pass down to the younger population is an important determinant of what the youths themselves will achieve scholastically (3). A Census Bureau study in 1960 showed that, despite a certain degree of educational improvement between generations, the educational levels of fathers and sons tended to be more alike than different (16). If a boy's father had attended college, his chances of attending college were more than three times as good as those of a boy whose father had not graduated from high school. Although a nonwhite youth was only half as likely to be enrolled in college as a white youth, his chances were virtually as good if the fathers of each had attended college. Thus, the educational level of adults is a topic worthy of examination in any broad analysis of the educational status of youths.

How well-schooled is the adult population and how do rural adults compare with those in urban areas? The 1960 census showed that the average (median) years of school completed by the population 25 years old and over in the United States as 11.1 in urban areas, compared to 9.5 and 8.8, respectively, in rural-nonfarm and rural-farm areas.[3] According to these data, women were more likely than men to have completed elementary school or high school, but men were more likely to have begun college and to have graduated. The educational patterns of men and women were found to vary in this way in both rural and urban areas.

Differences in educational attainment between whites and nonwhites were considerably greater than those between men and women. While approximately 38 percent of the adult white population in the Nation had not gone beyond the eighth grade in school, about 60 percent of the adult nonwhite population had not done so. Furthermore, differences by race were accentuated in comparisons of rural and urban populations; 34 percent and 54 percent of the urban white and nonwhite populations respectively, had completed 8 years or less of school, compared to 45 percent and 75 percent in rural nonfarm areas and 52 percent and 84 percent in rural farm areas. Thus, in terms of low educational attainment, or completion of eight grades or less of formal schooling, achievement of rural white persons was on a par with that of urban nonwhites.

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[3] Statistical tables are presented at the end of this paper for those who would care to have the data in tabular form or to see the data in more detail.

At the other end of the education continuum, urban areas in 1960 had proportionately more adults with some college education than rural areas, 20 percent compared to 9 percent. More than twice as many whites as nonwhites in the country had achieved some college education, with differences being greater in rural than in urban areas. To put these variations by color and residence into perspective, one might note that the percentage of the urban nonwhite population with some college education was about equal to that of whites in rural-farm areas.

Regionally, the West exhibited the highest rates of educational attainment in 1960. About 22 percent of the population 25 and over in the West had some college, compared to 15 to 16 percent in other regions. Conversely, the proportion with 8 years of school or less was approximately 29 percent in the West compared to 39 percent in the Northeast and North Central regions and 47 percent in the South. Urban-rural differences in educational achievement observed for the country as a whole were persistent within each region. Differences by color were most pronounced in the South, in urban as well as in rural areas. Although the adult male southerner in urban areas averaged 10½ years of schooling while his rural counterpart averaged 8, the nonwhites in each area averaged 3 years below that of the general population.

Significant changes in educational attainment occurred between 1950 and 1960. Proportionately fewer persons 25 years and over had attained only 8 years or less of school in 1960 than in 1950, 40 percent compared to 48 percent. Moreover, 41 percent were high school graduates in 1960, compared to 34 percent in 1950. Though improvement was fairly general for all groups in the population, urban-rural differences were almost as great in 1960 as in 1950. For nonwhites, the urban-rural differential widened slightly over the decade. In 1960, 25 percent of urban nonwhites, compared with 10 percent of rural nonwhites, had completed 4 years of high school or more; comparable figures for 1950 were 18 percent and 5 percent. Corresponding percentages for whites were 46 and 35 in 1960 and 41 and 27 in 1950, which suggests a slight narrowing of urban-rural differences among whites.

The 1950–60 decade saw no change in the comparatively high status of the West or in the low status of the South with respect to educational attainment, despite the fact that higher average levels were reached in all regions.

Differences in educational attainment reflect variations in the age composition and migration patterns of the population, among other factors. With regard to age, rural school systems decades ago were much less adequate relative to urban school systems than they are today, so that older rural residents who were reared in rural areas have considerably lower educational levels than urban residents of comparable age who were schooled in urban areas. Educational differences among the total adult urban and rural populations can be ascribed partly to this historical development. An examination of the data for those 25–29 years old, who fairly recently completed their schooling, however, shows similar but less marked differences in attainment.

This suggests that we give some attention to selective migration. The smaller increase in rural-farm areas than in rural-nonfarm and urban areas in average educational attainment between 1950 and 1960, examined in relation to only minor differences in farm and nonfarm school enrollment rates, points to the severe loss of educated persons in farm areas through outmigration. The well-educated farm youth who goes off to the city for a job is one prototype of the young rural migrant. In fact, outmigration draws from all segments of the population (9), but the net effect of outmigration and inmigration between 1950 and 1960 seems to have left the farm population with pretty much the same educational level at both dates while the level of attainment in the country as a whole increased.[4]

Selective migration may also have played some role in changing educational differentials by color between 1950 and 1960. While the white-nonwhite educational differential narrowed somewhat between 1950 and 1960, the nonwhite population in urban areas showed more of a gain relative to the white population than that in rural areas. Part of this greater gain conceivably was due to the outward migration of better-than-average-educated Negroes from rural areas in the South to urban centers in the North and South.[5]

ENROLLMENT RATES OF RURAL YOUTHS

Information about the educational attainment of the adult population tells us about schooling in the recent and distant past and about the effects of migration and population redistribution on the supply of educated persons in different areas of the country. What do census data reveal about the current effort in education? Are rural youths now advancing through the school systems as well as urban youths? How do enrollment rates and dropout rates compare?

The data show that rural youths are doing fairly well, although there is room for improvement. At ages 7–13, when school attendance is compulsory in nearly all States, enrollment rates in rural and urban areas of the United States were the same, according to the April 1960 census, with 97–98 percent of the population enrolled in school. Outside the compulsory school age range, urban and rural variations in the rates were somewhat greater. A higher proportion of 5 and 6 year olds were enrolled in urban than rural areas, mainly because of the wider availability of kindergartens in urban areas. Enrollment rates of rural-nonfarm youth at ages 16 and 17 lagged behind those of urban and farm youth. Rural youth at ages 16 and 17, particularly farm youth, whose enrollment rates were substantially lower than urban youth in 1950, had about equalled the enrollment rates of urban youth by 1960. Rural nonwhite youth, whose enrollment rates were sharply below urban nonwhite youth in 1950, made great enrollment gains during the decade and the gap in enrollment rates by 1960 had narrowed considerably.

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[4] The definition of "farm" was more restrictive in the 1960 census than it had been in the 1950 census. This definitional change may be partly responsible for the apparent modest increase in educational attainment in rural-farm areas. The effect of the definitional change has been described (19).

[5] It has been estimated that, during the 1950–60 decade, a net loss due to migration of over 7 million occurred in the farm population alive in1950. Persons under age 30, who tend to be better educated than older persons, were disproportionately represented among these migrants. For details, see Gladys K. Bowles (2). Detailed analysis of 1960 census volumes (14, 15) may throw some further light on educational selectivity inmigration.

At ages 20–24, principally college ages, about twice as large a proportion of urban as rural residents were enrolled in 1960. In the 1960 census, college students were enumerated where they lived while attending college, so part of this latter difference may be explained by the traditional urban location of colleges and universities. However, Census Bureau current enrollment surveys which locate students at their parental homes give similar results.

If one looks at dropout rates instead of enrollment rates, the findings are consistent with those just cited. The percentage of youths 14–24 years old not enrolled in school who had not completed high school was about the same for urban and farm youths in 1960(5). Nonwhites had higher dropout rates than whites, but substantial reductions in the rates for nonwhites were made between 1950 and 1960. Another recent study showed that students in rural areas who were beginning their high school senior year were just as likely as those from urban areas to graduate (6). The same study shows, however, that rural high school graduates are much less likely to attend college. On the whole, then, rural youth seem to be continuing in school through high school at the same rate as urban youth, but they are not going on to college in the same proportions.

Within each region, enrollment rates for rural youth at the compulsory school ages compared favorably with those of urban youth. At college ages, the national pattern favoring urban areas also held up in each region.

Improvement in enrollment rates was much sharper over the 20-year period 1940–60 than over the 10-year period 1950–60. In 1940, the enrollment rates of 16 and 17 year olds in a large proportion of the counties of the United States ranged between 60 and 74 percent. By 1960, corresponding rates ranged primarily between 75 and 89 percent. In 1960, approximately three-fifths of the 3,000-odd counties in the country had between 75 and 89 percent of their 16 and 17 year olds enrolled in school, compared to one-fifth of the counties in 1940. At the earlier date, more than one-third of the counties had 60 to 74 percent of their youth 16 and 17 years old enrolled in school, while another four-tenths had less than 60 percent enrolled. It was during this 20-year period that a high school education became the average level of attainment for young adults.[6]

PATTERNS OF SCHOOL RETARDATION

Examination of enrollment percentages and dropout rates for different areas and subgroups of the population indicates those groups whose school attendance patterns are weakest. A related problem is that many of those who remain in school fail to keep up scholastically with their age peers.

One way of measuring this notion of "keeping up" is to analyze data relating age to grade attended for those enrolled in school to see what proportion of students of a given age are attending the grade normal for that age. Both the age at which he enters school and the regularity of promotion affect a pupil's age-grade placement at any time in his scholastic career.

Although there are variations in the age at which children enter school in the United States, it is generally expected that a child will enter elementary school at age 6 and that he will advance one grade each year. In terms of this standard relationship, 6 year olds should be enrolled in kindergarten or the first grade, 7 year olds in first or second grade, and so forth.[7] Those who fall below the grades expected for their age might be classified as "retarded" in age-grade school progression, and those who exceed it might be regarded as "accelerated."

In the following summary of findings from an analysis of "retardation" and "acceleration" in 1950 and 1960, the U.S. standard of performance in 1960 (identical to that in 1950) is used to measure age-grade progress in school for all groups in the population (4).

In 1960, rural students were more likely than urban students to be retarded scholastically. Among white children, retardation rates were higher in rural-farm areas than in urban areas but lower than in rural-nonfarm areas, whereas among nonwhite children, retardation rates were highest for rural-farm children and lowest for urban children. In each age group of boys and girls, the lowest retardation rate for nonwhites (that of urban children) exceeded the highest rate of retardation for whites (that of rural-nonfarm children). Thus, scholastic retardation seems more closely associated with color than with residence, and age-grade progress of white students in 1960 was uniformly better than that of nonwhites in each residence category.

For rural nonwhite males 16 and 17 years old, retardation represented the normal school situation. Half of all rural nonwhite boys and a third of all urban nonwhite boys were at least 1 year behind the grades expected for children 16 and 17. A similar, but less extreme, pattern was characteristic of nonwhite girls 16 and 17 years old, of whom about one-fifth in urban areas and two-fifths in rural areas were retarded in school. The comparatively low rates of school enrollment among nonwhites 16 and 17 years old probably reflects the fact that children considerably behind their classmates in academic progress experienced a higher dropout rate than did children who maintained normal school progress. Further, it is likely that a significant proportion of children who are scholastically retarded will fail to meet the requirements for a high school diploma.

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[6] These and other data on education are being summarized and integrated in a Census monograph now in preparation by John K. Folger and Charles B. Nam (8).

[7] A two-grade span is normal for single ages 8 to 17 years old.

Comparisons of the age-grade progress of farm and urban boys show differences between the broad regions (North and West, on the one hand, and the South, on the other) and between white and nonwhite boys within each of the broad regions. School retardation rates for white farm boys in the North and West were lower than those for white urban boys in the United States as a whole. The age-grade progress of white farm boys in the North and West more closely resembled that of southern white urban boys than that of southern white farm boys. In contrast, retardation rates for southern white farm boys were about the same as those characteristic of nonwhite urban boys in the country as a whole.

In neither 1950 nor 1960 did rural children and youth fit the expected age-grade pattern characteristic of urban children, but differences narrowed during the decade. Differences in the proportion of rural-farm and rural-nonfarm children enrolled in grades expected for their ages also narrowed between 1950 and 1960.[8]

In both 1960 and 1950, there were sharp differences between whites and nonwhites in age-grade progress. In 1960, there was about 2½ times as high a proportion of nonwhite as white youths 14 and 15 years old retarded in school. Differences between whites and nonwhites were somewhat less in 1960 than in 1950, though at some ages, 16 and 17 for instance, there were still marked differences by color at the later date.

In general, retardation rates increased with age, both in rural and urban areas, since many teenage pupils who were behind the level for their age first fell behind in the early elementary school grades and some fell further behind in school as they became older. Also pertinent is the fact that, by the time they reach ages 16 and 17 a large proportion of children who are scholastically retarded leave school. This may contribute to the similarity of retardation rates at ages 14 and 15 and 16 and 17.[9]

Small proportions of children were accelerated scholastically in both 1950 and 1960. Slight, but consistent, differences appeared between whites and nonwhites, with higher proportions of nonwhites in each age-group enrolled in grades above those expected for their age. This pattern of acceleration may be attributed, in part, to segregated schools where higher nonwhite retardation rates and increasing enrollment rates lead to overcrowded classes which result in advancement of the more able nonwhite children. Thus, nonwhite children were proportionately overrepresented in the grades both above and below those expected for their ages and underrepresented in grades typical for their ages.

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[8] The effect of changes in the definition of farm residence between 1950 and 1960 on changes in enrollment rates is not known.

[9] Lichter, et al., (10) includes reference to several studies showing that the dropout is generally a child who has failed in his general school adjustment and is only rarely a successful student.

The fairly high retardation rates shown here for rural youths mean that many of these youths may enter the labor force at an older age if they finish high school, are more likely to drop out of school before finishing, and will be handicapped in job competition in an urban labor market where high school graduation is frequently a minimum requirement for employment (12, 13).

FACTORS RELATED TO SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND SCHOOL RETARDATION

Various factors have been associated with school enrollment and dropout rates. Studies show that high school dropout rates are higher among nonwhites than whites, among boys than girls, among youths with low than high intelligence, among those from low than high socioeconomic backgrounds, and among those whose parents had little education (11, 17).

In an effort to see how some of these same factors are associated with rural and urban residence, the authors undertook a study of these relationships in the counties of the United States. The percentage of youths 16 and 17 years old enrolled in school is a good indicator of the tendency for youths in an area to go on to complete high school. The percentage of the population in a county who are rural residents is a good indicator of the "ruralness" of the area. These two measures were correlated with data for each county on the percent of nonwhites, the percent of adults who were high school graduates, and the percent of families with less than $3,000 income.

In general, the results confirm the findings of previous studies about the relationship of enrollment rates and dropout rates to characteristics of the population, but a few highlights deserve to be mentioned. First, "ruralness," per se, was not significantly related to enrollment rates. For counties with the same socioeconomic level, whether there was a high or low percentage of the population in rural areas had little relation to high or low enrollment rates. Second, economic status (as measured by the income level of families) and racial composition (as measured by the percent of nonwhites in the population) each were moderately related to enrollment rates. That is, counties with low family income and those with a high percentage of nonwhites tended to have low enrollment rates of youths 16 and 17 years old. Third, the most important correlate of a high enrollment rate was a high educational level of adults. In other words, if a county had a high percentage of high school graduates among its adults, it stood a good chance of having a high percentage of its youths 16 and 17 years old in school. Furthermore, having a high adult educational level was a much better guarantee that a county would have a high enrollment rate than if its family income level was high or its percentage of rural residents or of nonwhites was low.

Although it is possible for a researcher to separate the effects of each item and to assess the relative importance of each, it is obvious that, in reality, the several factors work together. Rural counties, particularly in the South, tend to have sizable proportions of their populations who are nonwhite; nonwhites tend to have low socioeconomic status; families with well-educated adults tend to have relatively high incomes; and so forth. But having a well-educated population appears to be the key that most often opens the doors to economic sufficiency and social welfare.

Some demographic correlates of school retardation among those who are enrolled were indicated in the previous analysis. Census data already available provide some further information. Scholastic retardation among 12 year olds in 1960, for example, was higher for boys than girls, for nonwhites than whites, and for children in public than in private schools.

School retardation also is highly correlated with the educational and socioeconomic levels of the family. A 1959 Census Bureau survey showed that, for young persons 14–24 years old living with both parents, those whose parents had little schooling were more likely to have attained less education than expected for their age. Similarly, higher proportions of those whose fathers were in blue-collar or farm occupations were retarded scholastically than those whose fathers were white-collar workers. For example, 52 percent of the youths whose fathers were farm laborers or foremen and 21 percent whose fathers were service workers had not attained the modal grade for their age, compared to 7 percent whose fathers were sales workers. Probably, if youths from broken homes, those where one or both parents were absent, had been included in the analysis, the differences would have been considerably greater (17).

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Public and private school systems, both rural and urban, will expand in the years to come to accommodate the growing number of pupils. Estimates indicate that elementary school and kindergarten enrollments in the United States may increase from the recorded 33 million in 1962 to about 42 to 49 million by 1980, high school enrollments (grades 9 to 12) may increase from 11.5 million to somewhere between 13 and 17 million during the same time span, and the number of college students is expected to increase from the 1962 figure of 4.2 million to a figure approaching 9 million by 1980, more than double its present number (18). Both rural and urban areas are expected to take part in the enrollment "boom," although some areas presently classified as rural may attain urban status within the next two decades.

Enrollment rates will probably continue to increase, particularly at the later high school and early college ages. The standard of high school graduation now attained by the average young adult will be achieved by many subgroups in the population with average educational levels now below that mark. Numerous factors, such as additional scholarship and loan programs, the extension of the community college system, increased educational requirements for the more desirable jobs, and the greater desire on the part of both youths and their parents for further education, will lead Americans to take greater advantage of the increased opportunities for a college education.

TABLE 1. Percentages for Educational Attainment of Persons 25 Years Old and Over, by Color, for the United States and the Regions, by Residence, 1960

Area and years of school completed	Urban		Rural nonfarm		Rural farm	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
UNITED STATES						
0-8 years school	33.8	53.9	44.5	75.5	52.4	83.6
4 years high school or more	46.4	25.3	36.5	11.6	31.6	7.1
1 or more years of college	19.6	9.3	12.8	4.1	9.5	2.4
Northeast						
0-8 years school	37.5	48.3	39.0	56.5	46.6	71.5
4 years high school or more	42.3	27.8	41.1	23.1	35.6	13.7
1 or more years of college	16.8	8.4	14.3	7.5	11.9	4.5
North Central						
0-8 years school	35.0	49.4	43.8	60.0	50.3	71.1
4 years high school or more	45.4	26.4	38.1	19.4	35.6	15.5
1 or more years of college	18.2	9.3	12.1	6.1	9.3	4.4
South						
0-8 years school	33.1	63.1	51.7	79.2	59.4	85.4
4 years high school or more	47.6	19.1	29.8	9.4	23.3	5.7
1 or more years of college	21.7	7.8	10.8	3.6	7.8	2.1
West						
0-8 years school	26.4	39.2	34.5	61.1	39.3	62.9
4 years high school or more	54.0	40.6	44.6	22.0	42.0	25.0
1 or more years of college	24.5	15.6	17.5	6.2	15.2	5.6

TABLE 2. Percent of Persons 25 Years Old and Over Who Completed 0–8 Years of School and 4 Years of High School or More, by Color and Sex, for the United States, by Residence, 1960 and 1950

	Percent completing 0–8 years of school		Percent completing 4 years of high school or more	
	1960	1950	1960	1950
UNITED STATES				
Total, 25 years and over	39.8	48.3	41.1	34.2
Male	41.8	50.5	39.5	32.5
Female	37.8	46.2	42.6	36.1
White	37.6	45.8	43.2	36.4
Male	39.6	48.1	41.6	34.6
Female	35.7	43.6	44.7	38.1
Nonwhite	59.6	72.5	21.7	13.9
Male	63.0	75.3	20.0	12.5
Female	56.7	70.5	23.2	14.8
Urban United States				
Total, 25 years and over	36.0	43.0	44.3	38.8
Male	37.0	44.2	43.4	38.0
Female	35.0	42.0	44.9	39.6
White	33.8	40.6	46.4	41.1
Male	34.8	41.7	45.7	40.3
Female	33.1	39.7	47.0	41.9
Nonwhite	53.9	65.7	25.3	17.8
Male	57.1	68.3	23.7	16.6
Female	51.2	63.7	26.6	18.7
Rural United States				
Total, 25 years and over	49.0	59.1	33.2	25.0
Male	53.0	63.0	30.1	22.1
Female	45.2	55.1	36.4	28.0
White	46.5	56.2	35.3	26.9
Male	50.5	60.3	32.0	23.7
Female	42.3	52.0	38.6	30.3
Nonwhite	77.6	87.2	10.4	5.4
Male	80.6	89.0	9.2	4.6
Female	74.8	85.4	11.8	6.1

TABLE 3. Percent of Persons 25 Years Old and Over Completing 0–8 Years of School and 4 Years High School or More, for the United States and the Regions, by Residence, 1960 and 1950

Area and residence	Percent completing 0–8 years of school		Percent completing 4 years of high school or more	
	1960	1950	1960	1950
UNITED STATES				
Total	39.8	48.3	41.1	34.2
Urban	36.0	43.0	44.3	38.8
Rural	49.0	59.1	33.2	25.0
Northeast				
Total	38.7	46.5	41.0	35.7
Urban	38.3	45.7	41.2	36.3
Rural	40.1	49.9	40.3	32.6
North Central				
Total	39.3	47.6	41.8	35.4
Urban	36.2	43.1	43.7	38.8
Rural	46.2	56.3	37.0	28.8
South				
Total	46.6	56.3	35.3	26.6
Urban	38.8	45.5	42.3	36.2
Rural	58.5	68.2	24.6	16.3
West				
Total	29.4	36.1	50.9	45.7
Urban	27.4	32.5	52.9	49.3
Rural	37.1	45.7	42.7	35.8

TABLE 4. School Enrollment, by Age and Color, in the United States, by Urban and Rural Residence, 1960

Age	Total	Urban	Rural-nonfarm	Rural-farm
Total population				
Total, 5–34 years	53.1	52.9	51.7	59.9
5 years	44.9	52.5	30.5	23.7
6 years	83.3	87.1	76.1	72.4
7–13 years	97.5	97.8	97.1	97.2
14 and 15 years	94.1	94.9	92.6	93.0
16 years	86.3	87.5	83.7	85.5
17 years	75.6	76.7	71.9	77.7
18 and 19 years	42.1	45.2	33.9	38.9
20 and 21 years	21.1	24.9	11.8	10.1
22–24 years	10.2	12.0	5.8	4.8
25–29 years	6.1	7.0	3.9	3.3
30–34 years	3.2	3.4	2.5	2.3
Nonwhite population				
Total, 5–34 years	52.7	51.4	53.8	60.9
5 years	43.1	52.7	21.7	17.6
6 years	78.7	83.7	67.9	66.1
7–13 years	96.0	96.5	94.9	94.7
14 and 15 years	90.3	91.7	87.8	88.0
16 years	80.2	82.0	76.9	77.0
17 years	67.1	68.1	64.5	66.4
18 and 19 years	38.3	37.8	37.7	42.7
20 and 21 years	15.8	16.6	13.6	14.4
22–24 years	8.0	8.5	6.7	5.9
25–29 years	5.6	6.0	4.4	3.7
30–34 years	3.6	3.8	3.0	2.8

TABLE 5. Percent of 5 and 6 Year Olds and 16 and 17 Year Olds Enrolled in School, by Color, in the United States and the Regions, by Urban and Rural Residence, 1960

Age and area	Urban		Rural nonfarm		Rural farm	
	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite
United States:						
5 years	52.5	52.7	30.5	21.7	23.7	17.6
6 years	87.1	83.7	76.1	67.9	72.4	66.1
16 years	87.5	80.2	83.7	76.9	85.5	77.0
17 years	76.7	67.1	71.9	64.5	77.7	66.4
Northeast:						
5 years	62.1	64.9	45.7	50.4	41.5	71.5
6 years	92.5	90.9	87.8	88.2	86.3	92.8
16 years	87.7	81.0	87.4	75.0	86.0	71.7
17 years	76.2	62.7	75.9	55.7	75.6	80.5
North Central:						
5 years	61.6	72.9	37.7	35.1	30.2	23.4
6 years	92.8	92.9	81.1	76.9	78.6	68.3
16 years	88.7	83.2	87.5	70.8	90.9	77.6
17 years	78.6	68.9	77.9	61.8	83.6	74.0
South:						
5 years	28.2	32.4	16.3	17.9	14.0	16.5
6 years	73.1	73.7	66.5	65.9	64.5	65.5
16 years	83.9	80.2	78.8	76.7	80.4	77.0
17 years	73.1	67.6	65.9	64.3	71.7	65.7
West:						
5 years	60.3	71.2	40.3	40.3	27.9	34.3
6 years	91.2	93.2	80.6	76.3	72.6	74.1
16 years	90.5	89.2	88.5	82.3	89.5	78.1
17 years	79.9	78.3	76.1	71.5	85.9	79.5

TABLE 6. Percent of 5 and 6 Year Olds and 16 and 17 Year Olds Enrolled in School in the United States and the Regions, by Urban and Rural Residence, 1960 and 1950

Age and area	Percent enrolled in school			
	1960		1950	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
United States:				
5 years	52.5	28.9	10.2	10.8
6 years	87.1	75.2	71.5	62.3
16 years	87.5	84.3	85.2	75.5
17 years	76.7	73.6	72.8	62.1
Northeast:				
5 years	62.1	45.3	12.9	10.9
6 years	92.5	87.7	77.3	70.6
16 years	87.7	87.2	86.9	81.9
17 years	76.2	75.8	73.7	68.4
North Central:				
5 years	61.6	35.3	8.1	12.3
6 years	92.8	80.3	71.1	65.5
16 years	88.7	88.8	86.7	81.2
17 years	78.6	80.1	75.9	71.2
South:				
5 years	28.2	15.8	8.2	9.9
6 years	73.1	66.0	62.9	57.9
16 years	83.9	79.3	78.5	69.2
17 years	73.1	67.7	64.4	53.7
West:				
5 years	60.3	38.0	12.2	10.7
6 years	91.2	79.1	75.5	63.4
16 years	90.5	88.7	90.6	84.1
17 years	79.9	78.3	80.4	69.3

Table 7. Relative Progress in School, by Age, Color, and Residence, 1960 and 1950

Scholastic status, color, and residence	Percent of persons 8 to 13 years old		Percent of persons 14 and 15 years old		Percent of persons 16 and 17 years old	
	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950
Expected age-grade progress						
Total, both sexes	87.2	77.6	79.6	66.4	81.0	69.4
White	88.9	80.7	82.1	69.9	83.3	72.9
Nonwhite	75.7	55.8	61.4	40.2	61.5	40.4
Urban	88.1	81.5	81.3	70.9	82.2	72.7
Rural nonfarm	85.5	75.6	75.9	63.2	78.1	66.7
Rural farm	85.0	69.8	77.3	58.2	80.2	62.5
Retarded scholastically						
Total, both sexes	8.3	15.9	14.6	25.7	15.0	23.4
White	7.0	12.9	12.4	22.1	12.7	19.9
Nonwhite	17.2	36.6	30.3	52.3	23.7	52.4
Urban	6.9	13.6	12.1	22.0	13.1	21.5
Rural nonfarm	11.0	21.3	19.8	32.7	19.4	29.9
Rural farm	11.2	26.5	17.9	37.5	17.4	34.3
Accelerated scholastically						
Total, both sexes	4.5	4.2	5.8	5.9	4.0	4.8
White	4.1	4.1	5.5	5.9	3.9	4.8
Nonwhite	7.1	5.1	8.3	5.2	4.8	4.4
Urban	5.0	4.9	6.6	7.1	4.8	5.8
Rural nonfarm	3.4	3.1	4.3	4.1	2.5	3.4
Rural farm	3.8	3.7	4.7	4.3	2.5	3.2

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Chapter 9

The Rural School Dropout

Prepared by Daniel Schreiber, M.S., Director of the Project, School Dropouts, National Education Association

Based on

Characteristics of Rural Dropouts
Leonard M. Miller, LL.D., Specialist, Counseling Techniques, Guidance and Counseling Programs Branch, U.S. Office of Education.
Programs of Rural Schools to Reduce the Incidence of Dropouts
James W. Moore, M.S., Associate in Education Guidance, Bureau of Guidance, New York State Education Department.

The rural school dropout may differ from the urban school dropout but the consequences of dropping out are the same for both—high unemployment and little earnings. Often children of poverty, they raise a new generation in poverty. They begin school with a handicap and usually end their schooling grade-retarded for their age.

Since years of schooling completed by an individual has a definite relationship to his lifetime earnings, it is no wonder that income levels in rural areas are low. Before we can intelligently discuss programs which will keep children in school through high school graduation, we must tease out some answers to certain questions. What are the characteristics of rural school dropouts? Can the potential dropout be identified early enough in his school career; and if he can, what can the school do? Is bus service adequate? Are counselors available? Do teachers, administrators, and parents work cooperatively to help the child?

SOME NATIONAL STATISTICS

Dropouts and Employment

Over one-half of the 3,068 counties in the United States have 60 percent or more of their population residing in rural areas. Twenty percent or 6.2 million of the Nation's public school enrollment comes from such areas, and in 1959, 1,308,000 of the total youth population, ages 6–17, were not enrolled in school.

Significant findings on farm and nonfarm high school graduates and dropouts are reported by Jacob Schiffman (5) in a recent review. Data presented in this report relate to persons 16–24 years of age in the civilian noninstitutional population in the calendar week ending October 13, 1962. The high school graduating class of June 1962 numbered about 1,850,000, 53 percent of whom were female and 47 percent were male.

The survey sustains earlier findings showing the less favorable labor market position of school dropouts compared with high school graduates. The rate of unemployment for 1962 school dropouts in October was 29 percent, about twice as high as the rate for the June high school graduates. (This ratio also held true when the comparison was limited to white dropouts and graduates, or to men.)

In addition to their educational handicap, many school dropouts suffer in the job market because of their extreme youth. Of the approximately 300,000 young people 16-24 years of age in October 1962 who dropped out of school between January and October, about three-fourths were either 16 or 17 years old; only one-fifth of the June graduates were this age, while three-fifths of the graduates were 18 years old.

Before examining data bearing on these and related issues, it is important to be reminded not to treat all rural youth as if they came from one mold. The backgrounds, experiences, and schooling of rural-nonfarm youth differ markedly from that of the rural-farm youth. The size of the school may vary from the giant Labette County Community High School in Altamont, Kansas, which offers 148 different courses to 1,500 pupils, to a small school in Vermont with fewer than 100 pupils which offers only the academic course. Also, the dropout rates may vary from a low of 13 percent in Whitman County, Washington, to a high of 75 percent in rural Alabama. And even in Whitman County where the average dropout rate for the county was 13 percent, two schools less than 9 miles apart had dropout rates of 3.4 percent and 32.5 percent.

It is possible, without too much difficulty, to continue describing the wide range of schools, school services, and economic levels that exist in rural areas. But to do so, by harping on the differences, may cause us to lose sight of the many similarities, and there are more similarities than differences in rural school systems. Let us examine these common elements so that, hopefully, we can suggest common solutions.

First, however, a review of some national statistics should be helpful in developing an appropriate perspective about rural school dropout rates.

Employment rates and kinds of jobs held improve for both dropouts and graduates as they grow older. The unemployment rate in October 1962 for those who dropped out of school in 1960 was 18 percent—smaller than the 29-percent rate for recent dropouts of 1962, but still considerably above the 10-percent rate for graduates of 1960. Similarly, young men who dropped out of school in 1960 were more likely than recent dropouts to be craftsmen and operatives, whereas fewer were relatively unskilled service workers. However, compared with male graduates who also left school in 1960, the dropouts were more concentrated in farm and nonfarm laboring jobs, and fewer were craftsmen or white-collar workers.

The grade of leaving school, related as it is to age, correlated with types of jobs—the lower the grade completed, the lower the job. Of all white 16–24 year old male dropouts employed in October 1962, 17 percent of those who had completed only elementary school or less were farm laborers and another 17 percent were nonfarm laborers, compared with only 7 and 12 percent, respectively, for those completing one to three years of high school. Moreover, the proportion of craftsmen was noticeably smaller among the dropouts with less education. Among white female dropouts, those who had not finished at least one year of high school were more likely to be domestic workers or farm laborers and less likely to be clerical or sales workers.

Nonwhites comprised one out of four of the 1962 school dropouts, about twice their proportion of the June 1962 graduates. Among both high school graduates and dropouts in the labor force in October 1962, nonwhites were much more likely to be in less skilled and less desirable occupations and more of them, partly as a result of their occupations, were unemployed. Among dropouts, fully three-fourths of the nonwhite youths, compared with two-fifths of the white youths, were in a service occupation (including private household), or were farm or nonfarm laborers.

The ratio for high school graduates was more marked—50 percent for nonwhites and 20 percent for whites. And the unemployment rate for nonwhite graduates was noticeably higher than for white graduates; but among dropouts, rates were about equally high for both white and nonwhite youths. Nonwhite dropouts include a larger proportion in farm areas, where unemployment is comparatively low. (These rates are based on relatively small numbers; however, data from previous surveys substantiate these figures.)

Furthermore, nonwhites failed to improve their economic position over a period of time as much as white youth. A comparison of those who left school before 1960 with those who left between 1960–62, showed a decided drop in percent working as laborers among the whites but the percent remained approximately the same for the nonwhites. In addition, for the older group, there was an increase in the proportion employed as craftsmen, professional, and technical workers. Rates of unemployment for nonwhite graduates and dropouts remained relatively high even after they had been out of school several years, while the rates for older white graduates and dropouts declined sharply. In 1962, about one out of every four nonwhite teenagers in the labor force was unemployed, compared with about one out of every eight white teenagers.

RURAL DROPOUTS AND TRAINING NEEDS

In writing about young workers with reference to the training needs of youth in rural areas, Feldman and Peevez stressed the following facts:

Most of the teenagers now growing up in rural farm areas will not find farm jobs when they enter the labor market. The majority of rural youths face a choice between underemployment on farms or in rural areas and small towns or movement to urban areas for employment. Many young persons on the farms are fully employed only during the relatively short peak seasons of work. And, for the rest of the year, they work on a part-time basis.

Because of the lack of employment opportunities on the farms or in rural areas and small towns, the large-scale migration of youths from rural to urban areas has continued unabated. For example, in 1950, there were 9.5 million young people in the 10–19 age group in rural areas; but in 1960, when these individuals were 20–29 years old, they numbered only 6.1 million, a 36 percent decline.

Among nonwhites the migration rates are even higher. In 1950, about 1.3 million nonwhite young persons aged 10 through 19 were living in rural areas; but in 1960, there were only 640,000 in the age group 20–29, a decline of 52 percent.

A large proportion of these individuals lacked the training to compete for jobs in large metropolitan labor markets. Some of those who had completed their schooling had been educated for farm employment, but a large number consisted of young persons who had not completed their high school education. Also, those youths who remained in rural areas had to sharpen their skills. Lack of appropriate training in rural area schools coupled with inadequate training resources in urban centers further disadvantages these youths and adds to high unemployment rates (3).

STUDIES OF RURAL DROPOUTS

Although the number of dropout studies specifically concerned with rural youth has been relatively few, the depth and quality of these studies permit us to get a better understanding of rural youth.

The Iowa Dropout Study

The findings of the dropout study in Iowa high schools (7) are reported first and in some detail because of the clear definitions, statistics, and description of characteristics of dropouts. The study is based on youth who entered the ninth grade in the Iowa schools in 1950, 1951, and 1952.

Van Dyke and Hoyt compare "persisters" and "dropouts." A "persister" is a youth who graduated from the same high school while a "dropout" is one who failed to graduate and did not enroll in another school.

The school sample was divided into 4 sizes on the basis of their student bodies: 10–99; 100–249; 250–499; and 500 or more students.

Although the smaller high schools in the Iowa study retained a higher proportion of their entering ninth grade students than did the larger high schools, these differences are more apparent than real because of the wide variations in dropout rates among schools in the same size group. The 9 schools enrolling 500 or more students lost an average of 25 percent of their entering ninth grade students as compared with an average loss of only 13 percent in the 32 high schools enrolling from 10–99 students. But 2 of the large schools lost only from 16–18 percent and 2 of the small schools lost between 24 and 27 percent. The 17 schools with student bodies from 100–249 had an average loss of 13 percent.

This simply substantiates that the size of a school cannot, by itself, be taken as an indicator of the quality of instruction which students attending that school receive. There are very poor and very good small schools as well as very poor and very good large schools.

There is no evidence in this study as measured on the ITED indicating that students from small schools are less intelligent or achieve less well, on the average, than students from large schools. In view of the importance of intellectual factors as indicators of school persistence, it is disturbing to find that, among the 165 students in the overall sample with measured IQ's of 120 or above, 29, or 18 percent, were dropouts.

The nonscholastic factors investigated were absenteeism, extracurricular participation, residence with parents or persons other than parents, marital status of parents, occupational class of father, employment of mother outside the home, educational attainment of parents, and overageness. A total of 768 dropouts were compared with the same number of randomly selected graduates.

The average rate of absenteeism for dropouts was 8.5 percent, or 15 days out of a 180-day school year, whereas the average rate for persisters was 3.1 percent. Twenty-two percent of the dropouts and 11 percent of the graduates came from broken homes. The proportion of parents of dropouts failing to complete high school was much greater than that of parents of persisters. Neither parent in 67 percent of the dropout cases had graduated from high school; the corresponding figure for persisters was 38 percent. In 85 percent of the dropout cases at least one parent had not graduated from high school, but this was true for only 57 percent of the persisters. A comparison of occupation of fathers showed that the chances were nine to one that a child of an unskilled laborer would drop out as compared with the child of a professional man.

The average age of all of the ninth grade dropouts in this study was 16 years and 4 months, whereas the normal age for students completing the ninth grade is 15 years and 6 months. The dropouts, as a group, were overage for their grade at time of withdrawal; 66 percent of the students withdrawing in the 9th grade were overage and 34 percent of those withdrawing in the 12th grade were overage. Students who are retarded a year or more when they enter the ninth grade are likely prospects for withdrawal before graduation.

Boys drop out sooner than girls. A large majority of boys (69 percent) dropped out in the 9th or 10th grades, while more girls (60 percent) dropped out in the 10th and 11th grades. Sixty-four percent of all dropouts occurred in grades 9 and 10 and 36 percent occurred in grades 11 and 12.

The relationship between the program of studies, the guidance program, the extracurricular activity program, teacher morale, pupil morale, the physical plant and a total rating, and the holding power of schools in each of the size groups were studied. The size groups were studied independently, since the study was concerned with the effect of these factors in schools with the high-holding-power and low-holding-power rates rather than with the effect of size. Within each size group, schools having the highest and lowest rates of holding power were compared.

This study found that dropping out of the secondary school was the culmination of a process and not just a simple event. The process began much earlier than the day the student actually withdrew from school. Dropping out of school involved the interaction of predisposing, precipitating, and counteracting forces in the student's environment with similar forces existing within the general personality makeup of the student.

Six major types of predisposing factors were associated with dropping out of school: (a) School too difficult, (b) lack of acceptance, (c) disruptive home situation, (d) financial need, (e) school program inadequate, and (f) engagement and/or marriage. In all but 14 cases, one of these factors operated as a major predisposing force. But in almost every case some precipitating factor was associated with dropping out of school, and many of these had to do with incidents taking place in school. In only a small number of cases did students report having talked with any school personnel prior to withdrawing from the secondary school.

Louisiana Rural Dropouts

The objectives of this study (1) conducted in two parishes (counties) in rural Louisiana in 1959, Avoyelles, in south central Louisiana, and Franklin, in north central Louisiana, were: (a) To determine the forces affecting the school attendance and attainment of rural youth; (b) to determine the life aspirations of rural youths, and evaluate the extent to which the educational facilities are serving these aspirations; and (c) to develop information that could be used by various public and private agencies to improve educational facilities in rural areas.

Interviews were held with juniors and seniors in four carefully selected white rural high schools in each parish and with the dropouts from these schools in the same age group, 16–19 years. The parents of both groups of youngsters were interviewed to determine whether parental and family influence related significantly to the problem under study. Interviews were obtained with 125 parents of youths in school, with 68 parents of youths who had dropped out of school, and with equal numbers of youths in each category.

The largest number dropped out of school because of what could be termed "lack of interest." Over half of the girls interviewed left school because of marriage, making marriage the ranking reason for leaving school. Others left school because they were needed at home, for "financial reasons," or for health reasons.

Three-fifths of the boys and one-half of the girls did not regret leaving school, and over two-thirds of the boys and almost three-fourths of the girls reported that nothing would have kept them in school. The basic problem of these dropouts is, therefore, their apathy toward education, and their feeling that schooling has little or no relation to adult life.

The authors of this study conclude that:

> Findings of this study leave little doubt that educational attainment in rural areas is closely related to environmental factors. Each family and each school is an ongoing social system with certain goals and value orientations and certain norms of expected behavior. In the first instance, the family sets certain standards of behavior for its members. To be adjusted, family members must internalize the values of the family. Those members who subscribe to a different set of values tend to become suspect and to be regarded as misfits. Since everyone strives to "belong," it is easy to see how there is little or no incentive for youths in some homes to continue schooling. To be too ambitious in this direction is to appear to want to become "better" than one's family, etc. Conversely, in a family that stresses education as a value, a "good" adjustment is one that includes high educational attainment. In this instance, dropping out of school represents a maladjustment.
>
> The second adjustment problem centers in the school situation. Again, it is a matter of feeling wanted and secure. Where distance prevents close ties with the school, or where standards of behavior are expected or demanded which are strange to certain youngsters, they will adjust by dropping out of school as soon as possible.
>
> A starting place for action programs is suggested by the finding that negative educational values in rural homes are largely responsible for biasing the education opportunities of youth. Perhaps more attention should be devoted to "selling" education to rural families. Certainly, it makes as much sense to promote the education of youth, as a human resource, as it does to encourage practices leading to higher yields of crops and livestock. At the same time, school officials should be made acutely aware of the special handicaps of children from lower income homes (1, pp. 42–43).

Dropouts Among Rural Pennsylvania Youth

Through a research project designed to identify the personal and social factors associated with varying amounts of formal education of more than 2,000 young adults reared in rural areas of Pennsylvania (2), a number of significant findings relating to the characteristics of school dropouts were discovered.

This report was based on a 10-year study of rural youth migration and adjustment to adulthood. The sample, selected in 1947, consisted of members of sophomore classes from 74 rural high schools in Pennsylvania located in rural population groups. Because of this, no school was situated in a population center of more than 2,500 persons. Interviews produced complete schedules for 2,344 or 80 percent of the original 2,810 cases. Statistical tests showed no significant bias as a result of the loss. The 1957 sample was composed of 45 percent males and 55 percent females.

Fifteen percent of the sample did not finish high school. Thirty-nine percent terminated their formal education with high school graduation. Thirty-one percent engaged in some post high school training of less than college level. Fifteen percent attended or graduated from colleges or universities.

In the case of males, lack of interest was the most frequently mentioned reason for dropping out of high school, while for females, being needed at home was most frequently mentioned.

To a slight extent, farm-reared youths in the Pennsylvania study were less likely to continue their formal education than those from rural-nonfarm areas.

The number of years of parents' schooling was directly related to the amount of education of their offspring. The occupation of the father also was related to the continuing education of the child. Higher occupational aspirations were related to continuing education.

Among the high school dropouts and terminal high school graduates, a majority of parents wanted their sons to operate farms in greater proportion than the boys aspired to farming. This was not the case for those young men who went to college.

Throughout the study, evidence accumulated in support of the proposition that dropping from high school or going on to college were responses to a pattern of differentially valued status-giving factors impressing themselves in the lives of young people. The study also indicated that a significant amount of human talent is being wasted.

A 10-Year Followup Study of Eastern Kentucky Youth

A 10-year followup study of youth in eastern Kentucky (8) examined the extent to which rural school dropouts are disadvantaged in comparison with rural high school graduates and whether graduation from high school is more of an advantage if the youth remains in a rural area or if he moves to an urban center.

The population selected were males who were enrolled in the eighth grade during the school year 1949–50 in 11 rural counties of eastern Kentucky. Of the 757 boys enrolled in this grade in 1950 only 307 (41 percent) could be reached for personal interview. An additional 104 responded to a mailed questionnaire.

More than half the young men (55 percent) had dropped out of school before finishing the 12th grade and, among these, the larger proportion had received only 8 years of formal education. Of those who finished high school, nearly one-third entered college, but only 12 men completed 4 years of higher education. Almost 90 percent of the parents of dropouts were dropouts themselves, and 80 percent had less than nine grades of formal schooling.

At the time of the interview, half the young men (51 percent) were living in the eastern Kentucky area, and the remainder were living in urban centers of southern Ohio (40 percent) or other parts of Kentucky (9 percent). Approximately equal proportions of school dropouts and high school graduates were living in urban communities (51 and 47 percent, respectively). The median age of the men was 25 years; four out of five were married, and of these, almost all had one child or more. They were fairly well established in their work and family careers.

The following conclusions were reported:

> Among the men living in eastern Kentucky, no significant differences were found between school dropouts and high school graduates in satisfaction with their work, desire to change jobs, achievement orientation, rates of unemployment, annual income, ratings of their communities, migration intentions, reasons for wanting to move, or in their estimation of how much formal education a young man needs nowadays.
>
> But these high school graduates, in contrast to school dropouts, had been more successful in achieving the higher status jobs, held higher job aspirations, expressed stronger intentions to do something to achieve their aspirations, participated more often in community organizations, and held a more optimistic mental outlook about the world and their place in it.
>
> And more of the school dropouts than graduates living in eastern Kentucky indicated that they would do things differently if they could start life over. The principal change they wanted was to get more formal education.
>
> Among men who moved to urban centers, graduates differed significantly from dropouts. The graduates had a more confident and optimistic outlook about the world, and more maintained that a college education was needed today.
>
> No significant differences were found between the school dropouts and the high school graduates who had moved to urban centers in: Occupational achievement, job satisfactions, the wish to change jobs, achievement orientation, job aspirations, motivation to achieve their aspirations, rates of employment, annual income, membership in community organizations, ratings of their communities, migration intentions, or in their reasons for wanting to move (8, pp. 4–5).

From the data, Youmans draws the inference that the rural school systems of eastern Kentucky appear able to prepare young men for adult roles in the rural areas but do not do as well for youth who migrate to urban centers.

Whitman County, Washington, Dropout Study

The dropout study done by C. L. Stone (6) in Whitman County, Washington, one of the wealthiest agricultural areas in the country, sheds additional light on this complex problem. Besides having a high per capita wealth structure, the county is fortunate in that the State College of Washington is located within its borders.

Stone visited all 15 public high schools and examined the complete school records of all 204 pupils who had dropped out of school since 1949. Transfer pupils were not included in the study. Teacher opinion, by means of a questionnaire, was obtained on 146 of the 204 pupils; and 82 of the 204 interviewed personally. She compared dropouts with graduates, and obtained data on their homes, scholastic records, extracurricular activities, and subsequent employment.

The dropout rate for the entire county was found to be extremely low, 13 percent, with a variance among individual schools from 3.4 to 32.5 percent. Geographic location within the county had little bearing on the rate since the school with the lowest dropout rate is located only 9 miles from the one with the highest rate. Similarly, the size of the school was irrelevant; most of them were small and there was no correlation between size and dropout rate.

While there were more boys than girls enrolled in the schools, boys constituted only 51 percent of the graduates; but, on the other hand, 58 percent of the dropouts. Twice as many dropouts as graduates (24 percent to 12 percent) came from homes that were broken. The fathers of twice as large a percentage of dropouts as of graduates worked in low status occupations such as laborer and craftsman. Only 10 percent of the graduates had repeated a grade in elementary school as opposed to 31 percent of the dropouts. Only a fifth of the graduates, as against 70 percent of dropouts, had less than a "C" average at the time they left school. Mobility seems to have had no influence; 45 percent of the dropouts had been based in the same community since starting school, as opposed to 50 percent of the graduates.

Of the 88 dropouts about whom this information was solicited, 25 percent come from broken homes. Approximately one-fourth of the mothers were employed; and of this group, 80 percent had been employed for 5 years or more. Almost 80 percent of the fathers were dropouts themselves; and one-half had less than 9 years of formal schooling. More than one-fourth of the dropouts come from families of six or more children. Lack of financial resources was not a major cause of dropping out for more than 50 percent came from homes which were classified as being of at least moderate circumstances.

Almost five out of every eight dropouts had little or no participation in extracurricular activities. Their out-of-school associations tended toward the inappropriate and disreputable. More than one-half had no friendships with their schoolmates; and three-tenths of them owned cars.

Only one-third of the dropouts had a "C" average or better as contrasted with 79 percent for the graduates. Girl dropouts fared better than boy dropouts—54 percent of the girls achieved this record as against 13 percent for the boys. Slightly more than one-half, 53.3 percent, had recorded IQ's of less than 100.

Teachers ranked lack of interest and poor study habits as the major reasons for withdrawal while students gave marriage and military service as theirs. Although more than one-half of the girls left school to marry, their teachers felt that one-third were not ready for marriage, and fully 70 percent were not mature enough for parenthood; yet, 77 percent of those questioned had children.

In 1954, all the boys were either working or in the military service. Seventy percent obtained employment immediately after dropping out, 5 percent found employment within a 6-month period, and 25 percent went into the armed services.

For the girls, 21 percent found jobs right after dropping out, another 22 percent found jobs eventually, more than 40 percent married immediately and became housewives, and the remainder, approximately 20 percent, were still not working.

Almost one-third of the dropouts claimed that more encouragement from their teachers might have persuaded them to remain in school; an equal number claimed that a work-study program would have served that purpose. Because of the size of the schools, all pupils, low and high ability ones, are required to take practically the same course of study. The nearest trade school, located in Spokane, is more than an hour's drive away.

New York State Study

The final investigation reviewed is important, not only for its specific findings, but for its general recommendations as well. This study (4), conducted by the Bureau of Guidance, New York State Education Department in cooperation with 89 secondary schools between 1954 and 1960, was designed to determine factors by which potential dropouts might be identified and assisted to remain in school. All the members of the class of 1960 in the schools served as the study population as they progressed from grade 7 through graduation. Some 15,000 students were involved. More than half of the schools were located in relatively rural school districts.

The results suggest that smaller and rural schools are likely to retain a smaller percent of students through graduation than schools which could be identified as suburban, but about the same percent as large city school districts.

As in the other studies, one of the sharpest relationships established was a high correlation between the socioeconomic status of the parents of the pupils in the population and the holding power of their schools. The higher the status, the greater percent retained through graduation; status was estimated from "father's occupation."

Also the study found that there is a "climate" prevalent among the students in high-holding-power schools, as expressed in their attitude toward education, which significantly sets them apart from students in low-holding-power schools. The former had a more positive attitude toward the values of education than the latter.

In addition, a linkage was found between parental status, community type and class size, and holding power; and that school personnel are influenced by this linkage. The schools which improved their holding power the most exerted more efforts to holding students than did schools in which holding power improved the least. However, in terms of community type and class size, schools with high gains in holding power more closely approached the suburban conditions associated with elevated status.

As part of the project, a rating scale based on previous dropout surveys was developed. The annual rating of pupils in a school permitted identification of potential dropouts. A study of the results for pupils who voluntarily withdrew and for those who remained in school indicated that the scale predicted future dropouts with acceptable accuracy. The ratings revealed, however, that greater success may be expected in the detection of potential male dropouts than females. Approximately 80 percent of the males were identified as possible early school leavers at least a year before withdrawal as against 70 percent of the females.

Below are listed 10 items of the 20-item scale in order of decreasing predictability:

Rank	*Characteristic*	*Qualifying Condition*
1	Age	Old for grade group (over 2 years).
2	Grade Retardation	One year or more retarded.
3	Learning Rate	Below 90 IQ.
4	Pupil's Interest	Little or none.
5	School Marks	Predominantly below "C."
6	Ability to Read	Two years or more below grade level.
7	Parental Attitude	Negative.
8	General Adjustment	Fair or poor.
9	Participation in Out-of-School Activities	Fair or poor.
10	Attendance	Chronic absenteeism (20 days or more a year).

Recommended programs to increase school holding power include further development of guidance services, record-keeping to permit analyses of students as individuals, articulation and orientation of retarded students, informational services, counseling, placement, and followup activities.

Guidance Services

To serve students disposed toward early school leaving requires no extensive alteration of present educational technique, but, rather, an enrichment of educational philosophy which insists that the school's resources be proffered more generously to them. Little or nothing can be done to assist a greater percent of potential graduates to complete their secondary training until substantial portions of the staffs of secondary schools recognize in this leakage a problem for which they have a responsibility. Even granting such widespread and concentrated attention to the problem, success will be endangered unless the support of parents is enlisted because, as the study has indicated, predisposition toward early school leaving seems rooted in the values attached to social class. And the guidance function, representing as it does, the schools' most formal attempt to personalize its service to individual students, offers perhaps the best vantage point from which to coordinate the efforts to assist potential early school leavers and their parents.

Analysis of the Individual

The use of the rating scale permits counselors and teachers to discover which pupils are dropout-prone. Hence, it is imperative that the forms be consulted regularly. Since the study found that the junior high school dropout is more atypical than the dropout from the senior high school grades, and that the dropout, in general, is below the graduate in areas such as economic level, measured ability, academic history, attitude of parents toward continued education, age at grade, and attendance, it recommends:

1. A comprehensive record of information should be available for each student in secondary school.
2. This information should form a basic resource to teachers and counselors in their cooperative efforts to identify potential dropouts, and to create effective plans for the development of all students.
3. Case conferences should be convened for the review of information concerning students vulnerable to early school leaving at which plans are made to reduce this tendency.
4. The collected data should be regularly interpreted to all parents.

Articulation and Orientation

Because of the vast majority of pupils progressing normally through the grades, and from one school level to another, most programs dealing with articulation and orientation have been geared to such pupils. The data in the report suggests that equal attention must be given to those pupils whose progress has been arrested by being left back or retained in the same grade for another year. It found that 40 percent of those retarded in the project group later withdrew from school, and 44 percent of all grade repeaters occurred in the early secondary years.

The report continues: Precisely because their previous experience was unsuccessful, students who are not promoted with their classes require additional assistance to enable them to benefit from their prolonged stay. Both counselors and withdrawing students indicated the crushing effect of failure upon their plans to continue in school. Fully 24 percent of the pupils who withdrew from school dropped out during the summer. In order to overcome the high dropout rate among grade repeaters, the report recommends that:

1. Special efforts are necessary with students who are not promoted to make clear to them the necessity for the decision and the advantages inherent in the repetition.
2. The reasons for which promotion was not granted must be identified and plans made by school personnel to prevent the continued operation of these restraints on the pupils' progress.
3. During the ensuing year, retained students must receive added support and encouragement from the school staff. Teachers should know which of their students are "repeaters" so that they may be especially alert to their needs for assistance and encouragement.
4. Students known to be contemplating withdrawal should be encouraged at the end of the school year, during the summer months, and immediately upon the reopening of school in the fall, to continue their education.
5. The understanding of parents must be actively sought since their cooperation in assisting the student to succeed in his second attempt is essential.

Informational Service

An important part of the service by counselors to students is to provide pertinent educational and occupational information to all pupils, but more so to potential dropouts because occupational choices, if any, are of more immediate concern to them. Therefore, special attempts must be made to impart to potential early school leavers some knowledge of the occupations they may enter, the facilities through which their education may be continued, and the out-of-school services available to them at as early a moment as their inclinations are known. Since only slightly less than a quarter of typical student bodies are involved, it is possible that small groups may be established for this purpose. The report recommends:

1. Potential voluntary withdrawals should be helped to appreciate the full economic implications of early school leaving.
2. Although their choice of occupations is limited, information concerning the range from which their choice may be made should be provided.
3. Parents should be informed of the increasing importance of high school graduation in the labor market and the weakened economic position of those who enter the labor market without it.

Counseling

The aims of counseling for students who may leave school are not different from those for students generally. Essentially, the counselor seeks to create an atmosphere free of tension or pressure in which he and the pupil can together determine the forces to which the student is or should be reacting and to develop plans for managing these forces. The project revealed that students who drop out have certain negative attitudes toward school which must be dealt with early in the counseling process. Quite simply, a good many of them "dislike school." Their "lack of success" undoubtedly leaves them with at least some suspicion that they cannot expect any important help there, and this bias usually is not challenged at home. Yet, because the student brings to the counseling situation some negative feelings which must be neutralized before he can consider the benefits inherent in continued school attendance, it is very important that counseling contacts with pupils and their parents be established immediately upon identification of the pupil as a potential voluntary withdrawal.

Even the most fruitful contact with the counselor may eventually embitter potential leavers if the assistance received is not also extended by other staff members. The counselor must remember that what he may regard as effective aid, accomplished through regular interviews in the shelter of his office, may be difficult for a teacher, with 150 students, to emulate. Again, this argues for the team approach, including close cooperation in sharing information and planning by all those involved with particular students. The report specifically recommends:

1. Counseling contact should be established with potential early school leavers as soon as this identification of the student is made.
2. Counseling assistance must be complemented by the efforts of all staff members with whom the student has any involvement.
3. Parents must be aware of the concern of staff members for their children. Their suggestions and support must be obtained.

Placement

The usual goals of most dropouts right after dropping out of school are to look for jobs; try to enlist in the armed services, if male; or enter into marriage, if female. Because the school has a responsibility to enable students to make wise beginnings in the world outside of school, school officials should establish contact with agencies and persons capable of assisting students to make valid appraisals of the suitability of their tentative plans. Such resources include the local branches of the U.S. Employment Service, recruiting representatives of the several branches of the Armed Forces, personnel officers of local businesses, and church officials. Ideally, the student must sense in the atmosphere of the school a concern which does not demand that his explorations become tantamount to withdrawal; or that should he decide not to leave, his decision will be readily accepted.

Followup Activities

The report highly recommends that followup studies be conducted on dropouts as well as graduates to discover what their experiences have been since they left school. It believes that the findings of the study should be reviewed and discussed with students, generally, especially potential dropouts, their parents, and the faculty. An awareness of what goes on in the world of work based on local conditions may have a greater impact on the three groups than a recital of dire warnings based on national statistics.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

School-holding-power rates in rural area schools can and will be improved when administrators, teachers, and counselors working together attack the problem; when they earnestly strive to involve the parents of potential dropouts in their efforts; and when they take advantage of predictive techniques to focus their efforts upon potential dropouts. These concerted and directed efforts focusing as they do on the individual pupil may well involve him more deeply in the school program, engender success, and develop greater understanding of the relationship between school and the world of work.

Schools and school districts interested in improving their holding power should first know what it is. In order to find out, they may consider doing the following:

1. Ascertain the holding power of one or more recent graduating classes and study the reasons that pupils left school in grades 7 through 12.
2. Develop and keep up-to-date records of pertinent information for each pupil.
3. Identify potential dropouts systematically.
4. Be particularly alert to dropout proneness in nonpromoted students and those whose school marks take a marked turn downward.

5. Arrange and coordinate staff efforts to prevent early school leaving. Consider, for potential dropouts, school program adjustments, schoolwork experience programs, additional counseling, summer contacts by school personnel, and extracurricular activities.
6. Closely involve the parents of potential dropouts in all retention efforts.

Rural schools should examine their bus routes to find out whether distance from home to bus station is a causative factor in dropping out of school. If it is, bus routes should be changed so as to reduce this distance and thereby better accommodate the pupils.

Many rural youth who live in school districts which operate elementary schools but do not operate secondary schools find that they have difficulty in adjusting to and being accepted by faculty and students of the more distant and larger schools. Also the necessity of leaving promptly to get on the bus, limits the pupil's extracurricular activities. In order to overcome this, an articulation program between the two schools should be initiated. The program, starting at the latest in February, should involve parents and faculties as well as pupils. There should be provision for intervisitation by groups in both schools.

In order to encourage and permit pupil participation in all extracurricular activities, a "late" or "activities bus" could be assigned to each secondary school. Without this bus, only those pupils who either drive their own cars or whose parents can call for them are able to participate in these worthwhile and stimulating activities.

Since many rural secondary schools have a pupil population of less than 100, and a faculty of less than five teachers, the subjects offered to the pupils are limited in number. Little provision, if any, can be made for the atypical child—the gifted, the potential dropout, the vocationally oriented, and the business oriented.

Small rural school districts may find that in establishing a consolidated secondary school their children will have greater opportunities to explore and develop their aptitudes and abilities. If consolidation is not feasible, then two or three small districts may band together to provide services for their pupils. For example, they can employ one guidance counselor for three districts; each district paying its proportionate share of the counselor's salary. Or, a vocational shop can be organized in one school while a commercial shop is organized in another. Pupils who want to take these subjects can be bussed 1 day a week to the respective schools.

Also, academically talented, creative, or gifted pupils—maybe three or four from each school—can be brought together at a centrally located building 1 day or 1 afternoon a week. The stimulation and exchange of ideas with other gifted and talented pupils may well encourage some, perhaps bored with the current school program, to raise their aspirational levels and continue their education through college.

It is possible that even when two or three small rural schools can see the benefits accruing to their pupils by cooperative undertakings and would like to engage in such practices, yet the distances between the schools is so great as to make implementation of their hopes impossible. But even under these circumstances, something more, something different, can be offered to those pupils who need and want the extra services. For example, if a boy wants to become a baker, arrangements can be made with the local bakery whereby he will spend his mornings in school and his afternoons in the bakeshop. The bakery can and should be treated as an extension of the regular school. Similar experiences can be sought out for girls.

If the child is father to the man, then we know that unless drastic changes take place in rural education, the new adult generation presently in school, will have lower levels of scholastic attainment and be less able to find employment than youth reared in urban centers. Hence the real challenge rural youth offers to rural educators is to prepare them, and, by preparing them, to insure them a viable and productive life commensurate with their potential abilities. Rural educators can do no less than to accept this challenge.

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Chapter 10

Educational and Occupational Perspectives of Farm and Rural Youth

Based on

The Educational and Occupational Perspectives of Rural Youth

William H. Sewell, Ph.D., Vilas Research Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin.

Educational and Occupational Choices of Farm Youth

Archibald O. Haller, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University.

INTRODUCTION

In the United States, educational and occupational plans are made through the free choices of the individuals involved. For our system of free choice to function effectively, the society must provide the information, opportunities and rewards which make it possible for each individual to make a wise choice—one which will make appropriate use of his talents and provide the personal satisfactions he seeks. Such a choice will contribute maximally to the welfare of society as well.

How well does the system of free choice operate for rural youth and how well are their talents utilized for the welfare of the United States? Information pertaining to the educational and occupational aspirations of rural youth provides at least a partial answer to this question. Much of the basic data to be discussed comes from Sewell's continuing research program dealing with educational and occupational aspirations of Wisconsin high school seniors[1] (28, 29).

Educational Plans

During the past 10 years a number of studies have been made which provide comparative data on the educational aspirations and plans of rural and urban youth. Only two studies have been based on national samples. One study by Nam and Cowhig clearly shows that students from farm families are considerably less likely to plan on attending college after graduation from high school than are rural-nonfarm and urban students, and that girls in all residence categories are less likely to plan on college than boys—although there is little difference between farm boys and girls (8, 24). The second study, by Rogoff, does not provide data on farm youth or for boys and girls separately but shows that seniors who attend high school in rural communities (under 2,500) are considerably less likely to plan on college than those who attend school in larger communities (25). Other studies in widely separated States also report that farm or rural students lag well behind urban students in educational aspirations (3, 4, 7, 12, 21, 23, 26, 32).

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Sewell's current study of rural-urban differences in educational and occupational aspirations provides the most complete data on the subject and permits much more detailed tabulation and analysis than was possible in the previous studies. Data on educational plans of Wisconsin high school seniors are classified by place of residence and sex. The residence categories used in the study are farm, village (open country nonfarm and those residing in places of under 2,500), small city (2,500–25,000), medium city (25,000–100,000), and large city (over 100,000). The total of the farm and village categories roughly corresponds to the rural category of the U.S. Census, and the total of the second three corresponds to the urban category. Educational plans are classified in three categories: no further educational plans, plans to attend a school offering vocational training not at the college level (e.g., business college, electronics school), and plans to attend a degree-granting college (or one whose credits are transferable to the University of Wisconsin). Data classified in this way are given in table 1.

It is quite apparent that the proportion planning on continuing their education beyond high school is closely related to the size of community of residence. Only 37 percent of students from farms and 44 percent of those from villages, in comparison with 50 percent of those from cities, plan on further education. Within the urban category the differences are not great but always favor the larger cities. This same general trend holds both for males and females, although farm girls are considerably more likely to continue their education after high school graduation than are farm boys. For the village and urban groups, the sex differences are small and favor the girls. Farm boys are more likely than other boys to choose vocational training, with the proportions decreasing as the size of community increases. Among girls, the same overall relationship holds except that village girls are more likely than farm girls to choose vocational training. In all communities girls are at least twice as likely as boys to seek vocational training. This is probably directly related to the fact that the occupational opportunities for which girls compete are predominantly white-collar jobs that require vocational training.

TABLE 1. Community of Residence and Educational Plans of Wisconsin High School Seniors

Community size	Males				Females				Total			
	Not continuing	Vocational training	College	Total	Not continuing	Vocational training	College	Total	Not continuing	Vocational training	College	Total
Farm	67.7	10.3	22.0	100.0 (931)	58.1	20.8	21.1	100.0 (949)	62.9	15.6	21.5	100.0 (1880)
Village (under 2,500)	58.6	9.6	31.8	100.0 (938)	53.2	22.9	23.9	100.0 (932)	55.9	16.2	27.9	100.0 (1870)
Small city (2,500–25,000)	53.7	7.9	38.4	100.0 (1235)	49.7	20.8	29.5	100.0 (1219)	51.7	14.3	34.0	100.0 (2454)
Medium city (25,000–100,000)	51.1	7.1	41.8	100.0 (1093)	49.3	18.0	32.7	100.0 (1228)	50.2	12.9	36.9	100.0 (2321)
Large city (100,000 or more)	42.3	6.9	50.8	100.0 (806)	48.6	15.8	35.6	100.0 (990)	45.8	11.8	42.4	100.0 (1796)
Total rural	63.2	9.9	26.9	100.0 (1870)	55.7	21.9	22.4	100.0 (1881)	59.4	15.9	24.7	100.0 (3751)
Total urban	49.9	7.4	42.7	100.0 (3134)	49.2	18.4	32.4	100.0 (3437)	49.5	13.1	37.4	100.0 (6571)
Total	54.8	8.4	36.8	100.0 (5003)	51.5	19.6	28.9	100.0 (5318)	53.1	14.1	32.8	100.0 (10321)

By far the most important data in the table are those related to college plans, and it is here that we find the largest rural-urban differences. While only 21 percent of the seniors from farms and 28 percent from villages plan on college, over 37 percent of those from cities have such plans. Within the urban category the proportions range from 34 percent for small cities to 42 percent for large cities. Without a single exception the percentage planning on college increases in each size category and for both sexes as the size of community of residence increases. The differences are much greater for the males than the females—ranging from 22 percent for the boys from farms to 51 percent for boys from the large cities, and from 21 percent for the girls from farms to 36 percent from the large cities.

Thus, it seems quite apparent that the results of earlier studies are generally confirmed and considerably extended by the Wisconsin data. Clearly rural life seems to be associated with limited educational perspectives. In every comparison made, the more rural the group the lower the educational aspirations of youth. This effect is greatest on boys but is still considerable for girls and particularly in relation to college plans.

Occupation Perspectives

While a number of studies of occupational aspirations have been made during the past 10 years, most of them have not presented rural-urban comparisons, and only two studies are based on statewide samples. The statewide studies include one in Florida which compared the occupational aspirations of ninth grade boys attending school in communities of under 2,500 with those of boys attending school in urban communities of various sizes, and found that the larger the community the higher the occupational aspirations of the boys (11). In a later analysis, differences were also found favoring urban over rural 12th grade boys, and this relationship held even when intelligence and father's occupation were taken into account (23). An earlier Wisconsin study providing data only on farm and nonfarm high school students found no significant differences between farm and nonfarm seniors (18). Studies in counties of Michigan (7, 13), Kentucky (26, 32), and Iowa (3) agreed in finding that farm boys ranked behind nonfarm boys in occupational aspirations. Only slight differences existed among occupational aspirations of girls from farm, rural-nonfarm, and urban areas.

The data from Sewell's Wisconsin study are much more complete. Two methods of treating level of occupational aspiration have been used in the analysis. One is to classify occupational choices into the traditional categories: professional and executive, other white-collar (sales, clerical, secretarial, small retail business, etc.), skilled, farming, and other blue-collar occupations (operatives, unskilled workers, service workers, etc.). The second method has been to rate vocational choices according to scores on the Duncan revision of the NORC scale, a widely used, standardized scale of occupational prestige (9). Data are presented using each method for each sex with students classified according to residence using the five community-size categories previously employed in presenting the data on educational plans.

Table 2 gives the data for boys according to the above classification schemes. The proportion of farm boys aspiring to the professional occupations is considerably lower than for village boys (24 percent and 34 percent respectively), and both are markedly lower than for urban boys (48 percent). Among the city-size categories, only boys from the large cities differ much from the average urban proportion. For other white-collar positions the farm boys are somewhat below the other groups, but the difference between the village and city boys is small. The same is true for the skilled occupations. Farm boys are the only group to have a significantly large proportion wishing to enter farming (27 percent), and rural boys are more likely to plan on semiskilled, unskilled, and service jobs (other blue-collar) than urban boys, with village boys being highest in this category. The conclusion drawn from these data is that rural boys expect to enter blue-collar occupations (including farming) to a much greater extent than urban boys, whose choices are predominantly in the white-collar group. The proportion of white-collar choices, particularly the aspiration to professional occupations, tends to increase sharply as the size of the community increases, with well over half of the boys from large cities aspiring to a career in the professions.

TABLE 2. Community of Residence and Occupational Aspirations of Wisconsin High School Senior Boys

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

	Professional and executive	Other white collar	Skilled	Farmer	Other blue-collar	Total
Farm	24.0	10.5	8.5	27.3	29.7	100.0 (932)
Village	34.5	13.9	11.1	3.5	37.0	100.0 (938)
Small city	44.7	14.0	10.2	1.5	29.6	100.0 (1235)
Medium city	45.4	14.6	11.2	0.7	28.1	100.0 (1093)
Large city	56.9	12.8	9.4	0.5	20.4	100.0 (806)
Total rural	29.2	12.2	9.8	15.4	33.4	100.0 (1870)
Total urban	48.1	13.9	10.4	0.9	26.7	100.0 (3134)
Total	41.1	13.3	10.1	6.3	29.2	100.0 (5004)

PRESTIGE CLASSES

	High third	Middle third	Low third	Total
Farm	17.1	27.2	55.7	100.0 (932)
Village	24.4	36.6	39.0	100.0 (938)
Small city	34.4	36.0	29.6	100.0 (1235)
Medium city	34.7	37.9	27.4	100.0 (1093)
Large city	45.2	35.1	19.7	100.0 (806)
Total rural	20.8	31.9	47.3	100.0 (1870)
Total urban	37.3	36.4	26.3	100.0 (3134)
Total	31.1	34.7	34.2	100.0 (5004)

When the boys' occupational choices are assigned prestige scores, and these scores are divided into high (includes mainly professional occupations ranging from school teachers to medical doctors), middle (includes mainly technicians, office workers, small retailers, and skilled workers), and low (includes mainly unskilled and semiskilled factory workers, service workers, and farmers) thirds, the lower prestige choices of the rural boys are even more clearly indicated. Only 21 percent of the rural boys aspire to high prestige occupations, whereas 37 percent of the urban boys have such aspirations; the range is from 17 percent for farm boys to 45 percent for large-city boys. The rural boys clearly tend to concentrate their choices in the low status occupations.

The occupational choices of girls are somewhat more concentrated because a relatively more limited set of choices is available to girls. Also employment, although increasingly important to women, is still secondary to the major adult role of wife and mother for the great majority of women in our society. However, most girls do intend to work or at least to prepare themselves for gainful employment after completion of their education, and if present trends continue, it seems likely that most girls will be employed in jobs outside the home at sometime during their adult lives.

Table 3. Community of Residence and Occupational Aspirations of Wisconsin High School Senior Girls

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

	Professional and executive	Other white collar	Blue collar	No job plans	Total	
Farm	27.2	51.1	12.9	8.8	100.0	(949)
Village	31.0	45.5	12.6	10.9	100.0	(932)
Small city	38.1	42.9	10.0	9.0	100.0	(1219)
Medium city	40.8	42.5	9.6	7.1	100.0	(1228)
Large city	41.7	46.2	6.7	5.4	100.0	(989)
Total rural	29.1	48.3	12.7	9.9	100.0	(1881)
Total urban	40.1	43.7	8.9	7.3	100.0	(3436)
Total	36.2	45.3	10.3	8.2	100.0	(5317)

PRESTIGE CLASSES

	High third	Middle third	Low third	Total	
Farm	30.0	47.0	23.0	100.0	(949)
Village	29.8	44.6	25.6	100.0	(932)
Small city	35.4	43.6	21.0	100.0	(1219)
Medium city	37.0	43.9	19.1	100.0	(1228)
Large city	43.0	44.1	12.9	100.0	(989)
Total rural	29.9	45.8	24.3	100.0	(1881)
Total urban	38.2	43.8	18.0	100.0	(3436)
Total	35.3	44.5	20.2	100.0	(5317)

When the occupational choices of girls are examined, using the traditional occupational categories, the overwhelming majority of girls plan on professional or other white-collar occupations, and relatively few plan to enter the lower status occupations. However, when we examine the distributions, it is immediately apparent that the farm and village girls are much less likely to plan on the professional occupations and more likely to plan on the lower prestige white-collar jobs than are the girls from urban areas. Again, for girls as for boys, the general rule seems to be that the more urban the girl's background the higher is her occupational aspiration.

If we examine the occupational prestige levels by place of residence categories, there is even more marked evidence of this trend. A lower proportion of rural than urban girls are in the high prestige third, and the proportion increases with size of urban community. Rural girls, and particularly the village girls, tend to pile up in the middle and low prestige thirds; in contrast, city girls are particularly underrepresented in the low prestige third, and are overrepresented in the high prestige third.

FACTORS IN RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

What are the factors which help to account for these rural-urban differences in educational and occupational perspectives? Are there characteristics of the youths themselves which may help to account for these differences? Are there differences in their family environments which cause rural youths to set lower educational and occupational goals? Are there factors in the rural school climates or in rural communities which furnish less incentive to high aspirations and offer less opportunity for high level achievement? If we had even tentative answers to these questions we might gain a better understanding of the problem. Such knowledge would also be useful in practical programs designed to broaden the perspectives of rural youth.

The few studies which have investigated these questions offer some evidence to indicate that there are differences in each of these areas that adversely affect the perspectives of rural youth. None of these questions has been studied with sufficiently large and representative samples to provide definitive answers but suggestive leads are contained in some studies (3, 8, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 26, 30, 32). From studies so far available, most of which do not deal with rural-urban differences, it seems clear that certain personal characteristics of youths themselves are closely related to their educational and occupational perspectives. Certainly one factor of paramount importance is the youth's intellectual ability. Numerous studies have shown that measured intelligence is highly related to aspirations and is an excellent predictor of future success in educational and occupational endeavors. (See the references cited in 27.) Another characteristic which is highly related to future academic and occupational aspiration and achievement is past academic performance, as indicated by such measures as grades and rank in high school class. The motivation to succeed in tasks requiring persistence and high level performance is likewise an important factor. The individual's attitudes and values about mobility, security, independence, the kinds of work he likes, the place he wants to live, and possibly some deeper traits of personality are doubtless related to his educational and occupational perspectives (3, 4, 14, 15, 19, 21, 30).

Several studies have shown that the educational climate of the home—including the educational level of the parents, of older brothers and sisters, and of other relatives—is related to aspirations (6). The extent to which the parents stress high level educational and occupational goals clearly influences the perspectives of their children (1, 20). Other studies have shown that the family's socioeconomic status, whether measured with some index or scale or by father's occupation, family income or wealth, or other measures, is directly related to educational and occupational perspectives (20, 27).

Certainly the school itself must be important since in a very real sense it is a testing ground for the student and serves as one of the mechanisms for sorting out those who have the skills and other qualities which make them candidates for additional training or for direct entry, into various occupations. The teachers and counselors perform an important function in this process by encouraging some and discouraging others, by giving information about adult occupational opportunities and scholarships, and by serving as role models for youth. The standards and aspirations of one's peers, particularly in adolescence greatly influence one's behavior. Those who associate with classmates having high aspirations are more likely to aspire to college and to high level occupations than are those whose associates have low aspirations (5, 16). Finally, the communities themselves differ greatly in the extent to which they stress academic and occupational achievement, in the number and kinds of occupational and educational opportunities which are visible and available to youth, and in the extent to which social mobility is possible in the local community (25).

In the Wisconsin study, a number of variables may be examined in relation to the educational plans and occupational aspirations of farm, village, and urban students. Those dealing with the individual characteristics of the students include:

- the student's measured intelligence
- his rank in his high school class
- whether he found high school work interesting
- the extent to which he places a high value on education, etc.
- whether he followed a college preparatory course
- whether he had given much consideration to college
- whether he had applied for a college scholarship
- his college plans, and
- the prestige level of his occupational aspiration.

Also included are the following variables dealing with the school and community:

- whether most of his best friends in high school plan on college
- whether he had much discussion of his plans with his teachers and counselors
- whether his teachers had encouraged him to plan on college
- the size of his high school class
- whether he attended a school in which a high proportion of the senior class plans on going to college
- whether he lives in a community in which there is a college, and
- whether he lives in an urbanized county.

Variables dealing with the educational climate and socioeconomic level of his home include:

- the socioeconomic status of his family as measured by a factor-weighted scale
- his father's occupation
- the educational level of his parents
- the economic status of his family
- whether he had much discussion of his plans with his parents, and
- whether his parents had encouraged him to attend college.

The relationship of each of these variables to educational and occupational plans and to rural-urban residence has been tested. While the statistical analysis is too complicated to present in full, two simplified tables give some of the data. (The analysis has been done for each intelligence third, for the total sample, and by sex, but only the figures for the total sample and the high intelligence third are given in the tables.) Table 4 lists the variables which differentiate between those who plan on college and those who do not, and those who plan on professional occupations and those who do not. Table 5 presents data showing how these variables are distributed between the major residential categories: farm, village, and urban. From the data in tables 4 and 5 we can infer which variables may help to explain the rural-urban differences in the educational and occupational plans of the youth in this sample.

TABLE 4. Relation of Selected Variables to College Plans and High Occupational Choices for Wisconsin High School Seniors

	Percent with—			
	College plans		High occupational choice	
	Total sample	Top one-third IQ	Total sample	Top one-third IQ
1. Intelligence level:				
Top one-third	55	----	61	--
Bottom two-thirds	22	----	26	--
2. Rank in high school:				
Top one-half	46	60	52	66
Bottom one-half	19	38	24	43
3. Interest in high school work:				
High	50	67	57	73
Low	11	24	15	29
4. Value of college education:				
High	55	67	63	77
Low	14	24	13	27
5. Took college preparatory:				
Yes	50	64	58	71
No	9	19	12	18
6. Consideration of college:				
High	41	58	48	64
Low	5	18	8	24
7. Application for scholarship:				
Yes	86	89	93	93
No	25	42	30	48
8. College plans:				
Yes	33	55	93	94
No	----	----	12	20
9. Prestige of occupational aspiration:				
High	62	75	76	86
Low	4	10	1	2
10. Proportion of high school class going to college:				
High	36	59	42	63
Low	28	50	35	57
11. Discussed plans with teacher:				
Much	41	61	48	65
Little	12	27	16	31
12. Teachers encouraged going to college:				
Yes	56	58	63	74
No	15	32	20	38

Table 4. Relation of Selected Variables to College Plans and High Occupational Choices for Wisconsin High School Seniors—Continued

	Percent with—			
	College plans		High occupational choice	
	Total sample	Top one-third IQ	Total sample	Top one-third IQ
13. Size of high school class:				
Over 100	36	58	43	65
Under 100	29	50	33	54
14. Friends' college plans:				
Going	62	75	70	81
Not going	16	31	21	36
15. Availability of college:				
Within 15 miles	36	60	40	62
None within 15 miles	27	52	32	54
16. Degree of urbanization of county:				
Has city of 25,000	36	59	43	64
Has no city of 25,000	28	48	33	54
17. Socioeconomic status:				
Top one-third	56	73	61	76
Bottom two-thirds	21	40	27	47
18. Father's occupation:				
White-collar	54	70	60	75
Blue collar	23	43	29	50
19. Educational status of parents:				
High	51	68	56	73
Low	22	41	28	48
20. Economic status:				
High	47	66	52	71
Low	22	43	28	49
21. Discussed plans with parents:				
Much	39	60	46	66
Little	23	46	27	49
22. Parents encouraged college going:				
Yes	57	71	64	77
No	6	15	11	21

Some examples may help to clarify the presentation and the method of reasoning. If we take variable No. 17, family socioeconomic status, which is based upon a carefully constructed factor-weighted index of five items dealing with the financial and educational level of the student's family, we find from table 4 that 56 percent of the students whose families' socioeconomic status ranks in the top one-third of the sample plan on college while only 21 percent of those whose families' socioeconomic status is in the bottom two-thirds have such plans. This is a very large difference and shows that the socioeconomic status of the student's family is an important determinant of his educational plans. We also find from table 5 that there are large and significant differences in socioeconomic status among the residence groups; 20 percent of the farm students come from families ranking high in socioeconomic status in contrast with 29 percent of the village, and 38 percent of the urban students. Therefore,we may infer that the lower socioeconomic status

TABLE 5. Percent of Wisconsin Farm, Village, and Urban High School Seniors Possessing Selected Characteristics

Variable	Total sample				Top one-third intelligence sample			
	Farm	Village	Urban	Total	Farm	Village	Urban	Total
1. Top one-third in intelligence	27	29	36	33	----	----	----	--
2. Ranked in top half of high school class	54	46	52	51	80	78	76	77
3. Found high school work interesting	51	53	59	56	67	68	73	71
4. Places high value on education	39	45	50	47	24	22	25	25
5. Took college preparatory course	44	55	63	58	65	74	85	80
6. Gave consideration to college	70	75	79	77	87	93	92	91
7. Applied for college scholarship	9	13	15	14	20	27	29	28
8. Plans on college	22	28	37	33	40	47	60	55
9. Plans on high prestige occupation	36	44	56	50	54	60	75	70
10. High proportion of class plans on college	43	45	52	49	46	48	56	54
11. Discussed plans with teachers	68	69	73	70	81	81	84	83
12. Teachers encouraged college plans	41	44	43	43	61	65	64	64
13. Large high school class	23	10	80	57	23	10	80	60
14. Most school friends plan on college	21	28	42	36	35	41	61	54
15. College within 15 miles of residence	29	27	82	63	27	24	80	58
16. Lives in county with city of 25,000 or more	25	29	76	58	27	29	79	63
17. High family socioeconomic status	20	29	38	33	25	41	52	47
18. Father a white-collar worker	----	32	40	32	----	41	53	44
19. High family educational status	21	32	44	38	29	46	58	51
20. High family economic status	38	41	46	43	42	51	55	53
21. Much discussion of plans with parents	54	55	63	60	60	61	69	66
22. Parents encouraged college plans	37	50	57	52	53	68	76	71

of the farm and village students may help to account for their lower educational aspirations.

Another variable which several studies have shown to be related to educational plans is the student's past record in high school. One would expect this to be an important factor in educational plans because it provides the student with a basis for estimating what he may hope for in the way of future educational attainment. In the present study this variable is assessed by the student's rank in his high school class (variable 2). Data presented in table 4 show that approximately 46 percent of the students in our sample who rank in the top half of their high school class plan on college, whereas only 19 percent of the students who rank in the lower half of their high school class have such plans. Obviously rank in high school class has an important bearing on educational plans for the students in this sample. However, when we examine the data on rank in high school class (in table 5), we find that there are only small differences among the rural and urban seniors in the proportion who rank in the top half of their class, and these differences favor the farm group. Consequently, we cannot expect rank in high school class to explain why the farm and village students differ from the urban students in educational plans.

In a similar fashion we could proceed through the tables, examining each of the 22 variables to identify those which might help to explain the rural-urban differences in the educational and occupational aspirations of this group of boys and girls. Space will not permit an extended treatment of this sort, but we may mention the ways in which the rural students differ from the urban group on the variables that are relevant to high educational aspirations. Although the data for occupational aspiration also are shown in the table, our attention is focused mainly on the college plans data because the two sets of aspiration are very clearly related and space will not permit discussing them separately.

The rural students definitely rank well below the urban students in measured intelligence, which past studies have shown is one of the most important determinants of college plans. The farm and village students make about the same showing. The rural students tend to find high school work somewhat less interesting than the urban students, and the value placed on education by rural students, particularly those from farms, is considerably lower than for urban students. The rural students, especially the farm group, are much less likely to have followed the college preparatory curriculum than are the urban students—thus indicating an early lack of interest in college. The rural group is somewhat less likely than the urban group even to have given serious consideration to college; they are also less likely to have applied for a college scholarship. As was noted earlier, the farm students are less likely than either the village students or the urban students to aspire to a high prestige occupation requiring post high school training. From all of the evidence it seems quite apparent that the rural students, particularly the farm students, are less academically oriented, somewhat less able, and considerably less convinced of the value of higher education than urban students. Consequently they have taken few of the steps which are necessary for college entrance, such as following the college preparatory curriculum, giving consideration to college, and applying for scholarships, than the urban students.

The rural students attend smaller high schools and schools that send smaller proportions of their graduating class to college than do urban students. They are considerably less likely than urban students to have as their best friends other boys and girls who plan on college. They are somewhat less likely than urban students to have discussed their post high school plans with their teachers and counselors, but are equally likely to have been encouraged by them to attend college. They are less likely than urban students to live within commuting distance of a college and are less likely to have lived in an urbanized county where a wide variety of educational and occupational opportunities are visible to them.

Thus rural youth, in comparison with urban youth, find themselves in a school and community environment with considerably less potential for arousing and maintaining high level educational and occupational aspirations.

Variables related to the socioeconomic and educational level of the student's family are among the most powerful determinants of educational and occupational perspectives. Each is significantly related to college plans and on every one of them the rural students rank well below urban students in the Wisconsin study. Perhaps of greatest significance is their relatively low ranking on the general measure of socioeconomic status used in this study. This variable is highly related to educational and occupational aspirations not only in this sample but in every study in which it has been tested. Farm students rank well below village students and village students rank well below urban students on general socioeconomic status. On the other socioeconomic status indicators, such as father's occupation and economic status of the family, the rural students also are disadvantaged. The educational status measure, which is based on the educational attainments of both parents, reflects the lower educational climate of the farm homes in contrast to the other homes. Finally, the rural students are somewhat less likely than the urban students to have discussed their post high school plans with their parents and are much less likely to have been encouraged to go to college. This is especially true for the farm students.

Relationship between the foregoing variables and rural-urban differences in educational and occupational plans is by no means a simple one. This is indicated by the analysis undertaken by Sewell in which he tried to diminish the rural-urban differences by controlling the effects of some of the variables related to educational plans. Because the analysis is complicated, it need not be given here; we can summarize the results by noting that separate controls for intelligence and socioeconomic status, although generally reducing the rural-urban differences, did not remove them for either the boys or the girls in the sample. However, when both were controlled simultaneously, rural-urban differences in educational aspirations for the girls were largely eliminated. For the boys there were still significant differences at all socioeconomic status levels, especially in the high ability group. In fact, the largest rural-urban differences were for the high ability and high socioeconomic status boys. Finally, each of the 16 variables (out of the original list of 22 discussed above) that were related to rural-urban differences in educational plans of boys in the top ability group was controlled along with socioeconomic status and intelligence to see if any of these combinations of variables could account for the rural-urban differences in educational aspiration we had previously noted.

To make a long story short, no combination of any of these variables with socioeconomic status and intelligence was sufficiently powerful to account for the original rural-urban differences. Still more complex statistical analysis is now under way to test other explanations, but at least we may conclude that causes of rural-urban differences in aspirations of youth are by no means simple and that the differences are real and persistent.

THE RURAL CONTRIBUTION TO TALENT LOSS

A number of studies have shown that a high proportion of those with high academic ability do not have high levels of educational and occupational aspiration, and that many who do will fail to achieve their aspirations (20, 27). The data from the Wisconsin study are particularly revealing on this point because they permit rural-urban comparisons of talent wastage, which until now have been unavailable. Most experts would agree that students in the top one-third in academic ability, whether measured by intelligence or college aptitude tests, should profit from a college education and, if they have other requisite interests and basic skills, should be able to master the increasingly complex requirements of high level occupations. When the Wisconsin sample of high school seniors is divided into three ability levels—high, middle, and low—according to their scores on a standardized test of mental ability, it is apparent that a considerable proportion of high ability youths do not plan on college or aspire to high level occupations. For the total sample almost two-thirds of the high ability boys plan on college and aspire to professional and executive positions. Less than one-half of the highly talented girls plan on college and only 57 percent on professional occupations. If as high a proportion as one-half of those with high educational aspirations actually enter and complete college, which from past experience seems a reasonable estimate, the loss of talented youth is staggering. To illustrate, according to the Wisconsin data, of every 1,000 highly talented high school seniors, 550 plan on college; if no more than one-half of these enter and graduate, the maximum yield will be only 275 college graduates, which figure squares quite well with earlier estimates (31). This is an overwhelming loss. Obviously, not all of the talented group who do not graduate from college will fail to attain important positions in society because many will find it possible to compete successfully despite their educational handicaps, but all manpower experts agree that it is becoming increasingly difficult for those without a college education to compete for the better positions.

Turning now to rural-urban comparisons of educational plans and occupational aspirations of the highly talented third, again Sewell found that farm boys and girls have the lowest aspirations. Most notable is the fact that the farm boys rank well behind the village boys, who in turn rank well below the urban boys; 44 percent of the farm boys, 55 percent of the village boys, and 67 percent of the urban boys in this talented group plan on college. The same general trend holds also for high level occupational aspirations. Rural girls also lag behind urban girls in their

TABLE 6. Percent of High Ability Seniors (Top One-Third in Intelligence) Who Plan on College and Aspire to Professional Occupations, by Community of Residence and Sex

	Percent with college plans			Percent aspiring to professional occupations		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Farm	44	36	40	48	43	45
Village	55	39	47	54	47	51
Urban	67	53	60	70	62	66
(Total rural)	50	37	43	51	45	48
Total	62	48	55	64	57	61

educational and occupational plans, but the difference between farm and village girls is not great. Only 36 percent of the highly talented farm girls and 39 percent of the village girls plan on college, whereas 53 percent of the urban girls have such plans. For occupational plans the results are very similar.

Some idea of the talent loss which is likely to result from these differences in plans may be indicated by the following figures resulting from applying the procedures used in the preceding illustration. For each 1,000 highly talented farm boys the yield of college graduates would be 220, for village boys, 275, and for urban boys, 335. For girls, the yields would be 180 for the farm group, 195 for the village, and 265 for the urban group Thus, it can be clearly seen that the lower educational perspectives of the highly able rural boys and girls contribute substantially to the talent loss problem.

The low educational and occupational aspirations of farm boys in the talented third is worthy of comment. One of the most common explanations for the lower educational aspirations of the farm boys is that most farm boys who plan to farm do not think college is necessary for success in agriculture, and therefore do not plan on going to college (3, 12, 15, 21). This explanation, however, is not sufficient to explain lower levels of educational aspirations among Wisconsin farm boys. Of the boys in the high intelligence category who plan to farm, only 10 percent plan to attend college; in contrast, 52 percent of the equally intelligent farm boys, who do not plan to farm, plan to go to college. Eliminating the farm boys who plan to farm from the computations materially raises the proportion of farm boys with high educational plans (52 percent in comparison with 44 percent when the boys who plan to farm are included) and high occupational choices (30 percent choosing professions in comparison with 26 percent when the boys who plan to farm are included); it does not, however, bring the farm group up to the level of the village boys, and still leaves them far behind the urban boys. Thus, other factors than farm plans must be called upon to explain the differences in the educational perspectives of the talented farm, village, and urban boys in this sample. Needless to say, the rural-urban differences between the high ability girls also must be explained by other factors.

The failure of the bright boys who plan to farm to aspire to a college education represents a potentially tragic talent wastage. This is not only because there is great need for college-educated farmers in rural communities, but also because many of the talented boys who plan to farm may eventually end up in the nonfarm labor market working at jobs well below their ability levels. This is because fewer and fewer farmers are needed, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to get started in farming. Many who are determined to farm will not have adequate capital or credit resources to finance the purchase of a commercial farm. Some will take poorer farms and work against unfavorable odds and either become discouraged and quit farming for nonfarm employment or continue to work under unfavorable conditions. Others will try their hand at nonfarm employment in the hope that they can save enough to make a down payment on a farm—and few will succeed. In any case, the probability is high that many of the talented boys who plan to farm and do not plan to continue their education beyond high school will neither follow a farming career nor obtain the education required for good positions in the nonfarm labor market.

Farm Boys

The serious degree of talent loss and some special problems in occupational planning among farm boys indicate the value of more detailed examination of their educational and occupational perspectives. Practically all young men who enter farming come from farm homes, yet only a fraction of farm youth can expect to become established in farming. Studies in Iowa (21), Michigan (14), and Wisconsin (18) indicate that about 40 percent of the high school senior farm boys wanted or expected to farm.

In contrast, for the 1960's, Manderscheid (22) has estimated that only every 1 to 16 farm boys could expect to become established as farm operators. The problem of occupational planning among farm boys is complicated because farm boys are usually reared in a situation which stresses farming as a way of life and as an occupation. So it is hardly surprising that many farm boys report that they plan to be farmers. The fact that needs explanation is that so many of them decide to pursue nonfarm work.

Planning to Farm

Three factors are known to be related to farm-nonfarm occupational choices of farm boys: (a) The personalities of the boys, (b) the degree to which the parents stress farming or nonfarming occupations for the boys, and (c) the resources available to the boys for entering farming.

The few data on personality correlates of farm residence and of planning to farm which are available are inconsistent with widely held myths about the personalities of farm people, but they are quite consistent with sociological theory. The Michigan study, conducted in a good agricultural county in the midst of an industrial economy, showed, among other things, that farm boys tended to be lower in measured intelligence, more tied to relatives and to the local area, and lower in faith in their own ability to influence events than were nonfarm boys (19).

The same investigation also showed that farm boys who do not plan to farm are more adventurous, more independent, have more control over their behavior, and have greater character stability than those who plan to farm (15). While the Michigan study did not find differences in measured intelligence between the two groups, these differences have been found in other studies, with those planning to farm having the lower scores (12, 21).

Studies in Iowa and Michigan also concur in showing that despite the general social support for farming as an occupation for boys, parents of farm boys fairly often urge them to take nonfarm jobs. Generally, those whose parents have higher than average educational and occupational aspirations for them plan to leave farming (15, 21).

Finally, the best available evidence shows that when the boy's economic resources for entering farming are high, he will tend to plan to farm; conversely, when his economic resources are low, he will tend to plan not to farm (21). In the above-mentioned Michigan project, it was found that those boys who came from small families were more likely to plan to farm than were others (15). This is probably a reflection of the relatively low competition among farm boys from small families for the limited resources that are available.

There also seems to be a mediating factor between personality characteristics of youth and orientations of their parents on the one hand, and plans regarding farming on the other hand. Although the exact chain of relations is not clear, it is quite clear that boys who plan to farm are strongly influenced by nonmonetary values commonly associated with farming. Kaldor, et al. (21) for example, have shown that many farm boys say they are willing to become farmers even when it would mean a considerable financial loss as compared to taking a nonfarm job. Some of the nonmonetary values preferred more often by those who plan to farm are: out-of-doors work, physical activity, work with machines and tools, work in the local community, contact with people (21), and a relative dislike for change (15, 21).

It may be that value orientations such as these are the influences which boys with mobility-oriented parents primarily reject. They tend to accept opposing value orientations which are believed to be associated with nonfarm occupations. Similarly, it looks as though the boy with nonmobility-oriented parents probably incorporates such values. On the other hand, there is little reason to suspect that the presence or absence of monetary resources has any appreciable effect on nonmonetary value orientations, although the latter variable is correlated with planning to farm. Hence, there is reason to think that monetary resources exert a direct influence on plans regarding farming as an occupation; but that personality and parents' mobility orientations exert an indirect influence on the plan regarding farming through their effect on accepting or rejecting the values regarding farming.

The Effects of Planning to Farm

Once formed, the plan regarding farming appears to have important consequences for the rest of the boy's career. For instance, plans to farm are associated with lower levels of educational aspirations (3, 15, 21) Data on this point from Sewell's investigation in Wisconsin have already been given. Also, those who plan to farm less actively seek occupational information (2), spend less of their school time in nonagricultural courses (15), and know less about the occupational world (21) than do boys who do not plan to farm. Thus, it is clear that the plan regarding farming is of great importance. Farm boys who plan to farm usually are insensitive to the objective requirements of today's world of work. Farm boys who do not plan to farm, however, differ only slightly from nonfarm boys in these respects (3, 13, 15).

The evidence overwhelmingly supports the proposition that if a boy decides to farm—a decision which often becomes firm before the 10th grade (21)—he effectively seals himself off from much of the occupational information which is around him.

Farm Girls

Data for analyzing the occupational achievement process of farm-reared girls are more limited than for boys. Still, the most comprehensive study indicates that the urban occupational achievement levels of women who were reared on farms are lower than those who were not reared on farms, but these differences are not as pronounced as among males (10). The same seems to be true of educational achievement, if one can judge by enrollment in the first year of college (21). Moreover, all the available data on farm girls' educational and occupational aspirations indicate that they are either equal to or slightly lower than those of nonfarm girls (18, 23).

In terms of the frame of reference used previously, it appears likely that relative geographical isolation and its attendant features such as relatively poor schools, few occupations visible to the youth, etc., may well be the main factor producing the chain of somewhat low educational and occupational aspirations, reduced educational achievement, and finally, relatively low occupational achievement among farm as compared to nonfarm girls. Because for all practical purposes, farming is not open to girls as a career, they do not plan to be farm operators. Thus, their levels of aspiration and achievement are not further depressed by planning to farm, as are those of boys.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR BROADENING THE PERSPECTIVES OF RURAL YOUTH

The research results reported in this chapter indicate that the educational and occupational plans and aspirations of rural youth—both boys and girls—are low in comparison with those of urban youth. This is true not only when we consider the group as a whole, but also when we take into account those in the highly talented third. The fact that in almost every comparison the farm group is lowest in aspirations has been noted as well. Several of variables have been examined that have bearing on the lower aspirations of the rural and farm students. From all of the evidence, it seems clear that many culturally determined characteristics of the rural youth themselves work against their having high level educational and occupational aspirations. Consequently, there is probably no simple solution to the problem. Rather, its solution will demand multifaceted programs carried out over a long period of time. Moreover, there is no guarantee that some new problems may not be created when programs are introduced to change such a complicated social-psychological phenomenon as the aspirations of youth. Those who hope for a simple solution to the complex problem of altering the perspectives of rural youth are doomed to disappointment. This does not mean that remedies should not be discussed nor that solutions should not be sought. Various suggestions are considered, especially in the previous chapter on improvements in rural education. Reiteration of some needed educational developments discussed earlier is justified in light of the research results presented in the present chapter.

First, it almost goes without saying that everything possible should be done to improve the quality of rural high schools. This includes not only the physical plant, the curriculum, the teachers, and the quality of the supervision but also the intellectual climate of the school.

Second, it would appear that there is great need for in-school programs stressing educational and occupational guidance. Rural students, especially farm students, probably know much less about educational and occupational opportunities than do urban youths, yet very few rural high schools have guidance programs. While counseling cannot be expected to work miracles, it should be especially useful in making students aware of the range of jobs appropriate to their talents and in informing them of the educational requirements of these positions. In particular, guidance programs are needed for farm youth to help them become more aware of the objective requirements of the nonfarm world of work.

Third, any program of educational and vocational counseling should involve not only the youth but his parents as well. This is particularly true for rural parents since they often exert a negative influence on their children's educational and occupational aspirations.

Fourth, there is special need in rural school systems for programs which would attempt to make an early identification of those students who should be given encouragement to develop their unusual talents. If, as seems to be true, many rural schools do not provide a stimulating environment to the more talented scholars, possibly such students could be sent to schools where more challenging programs are available. Such a program would be costly and might be disruptive of local social arrangements, but it might provide an effective way of reducing rural talent wastage.

Fifth, since many rural youths cannot afford to attend college and vocational training institutions in distant places, everything possible should be done to increase the availability of such educational facilities. This may be done by the provision of community colleges, as in California and some other States, and by greatly increasing scholarship programs for talented rural youth. However, if scholarship programs are expanded, intensive efforts will have to be devoted to making students, teachers, and parents aware of them. Sewell's research seems to indicate that able rural students are much less likely to apply for existing awards than are urban students.

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PART III

Physical and Mental Health of Rural Youth

Chapter 11

The Health of Children and Youth in Rural Areas

By Helen M. Wallace, M.D., M.P.H., Professor of Maternal and Child Health, University of California School of Public Health

Mothers and children in rural areas have most, if not all, of the health problems and needs of those in urban areas. But, mothers and children in rural areas have additional health problems and needs as well, related to such factors as less ready access to medical and health resources, sparseness of the population in many areas, transportation difficulties, and the lack of adequate provision for certain groups with unique needs, such as migrant families.

The data presented in this paper have been selected for illustrative purposes, and are not intended to be a complete review of the literature on the subject of the health of rural children and youth.

HEALTH NEEDS AND HEALTH CARE OF MATERNITY PATIENTS AND NEWBORN INFANTS

Considerable progress has been made in improving maternity and newborn care in the United States in the last three decades. One of the significant steps has been the increase of deliveries in hospitals. In 1960, 97 percent of all deliveries occurred in hospitals; 99 percent of the deliveries of all white infants were in hospitals, while only 85 percent of all nonwhite infant deliveries occurred there.

There has been a significant increase in the number and rate of out-of-wedlock pregnancies. In 1960, 5.7 percent (a total of 224,300) of all babies born alive were out-of-wedlock births; 2.3 percent of all white babies and 23.3 percent of all nonwhite babies were born out of wedlock. Sixty-three percent of the illegitimate births reported in 1960 were to nonwhite mothers and 37 percent were to white mothers. Furthermore, there were 91,700 illegitimate births to teenage girls in 1960; of this number, 48,300 were girls of school age. Not only is the problem of illegitimacy one of great social significance, but also there are important health aspects; a higher proportion of out-of-wedlock births are premature, and the infant mortality rate for infants born out of wedlock is twice that for infants born in wedlock. Furthermore, the increased rates of prematurity and infant mortality are associated with lack of prenatal care (1).

There has been considerable reduction in maternal mortality in the United States in the past three decades. In 1958–59, the maternal mortality rate was 3.8 per 10,000 live births. However, the mortality rate for nonwhite women (10.2) was approximately four times that for white women (2.6). Nevertheless, the evidence is clear from studies by community maternal mortality committees that the irreducible minimum in maternal mortality has not been reached. These studies indicate that one-quarter to three-quarters of maternal deaths probably are preventable. The significance of maternal mortality is, of course, not only the death of the individual, but also the potential breakup of the family since the woman is the wife, the mother, and the homemaker for the family.

Considerable reduction has occurred in perinatal mortality.[1] In 1959 the perinatal mortality rate was 34.6 per 1,000 live births, of which 15.9 was fetal and 19.0 was neonatal. However, the perinatal mortality rate for nonwhites was 53.5 compared with 31.2 for whites. From community studies it has been determined that from 7 percent to 48 percent of perinatal deaths have been considered preventable. Approximately 115,000 perinatal deaths occur annually in the United States; over and above this number of deaths is the large number of infants and children who survive but who have disabling conditions due to prenatal and perinatal causes. These conditions include mental retardation, cerebral palsy, epilepsy, congenital malformations, other birth injuries, and other evidence of neuromotor and sensory disorders. The large extent of human wastage due to prenatal and natal causes, resulting in mortality and morbidity, indicates that measures are urgently needed to improve the quality and quantity of preconceptional, antepartum, intrapartum, and neonatal care throughout the United States. The prevention of perinatal casualties represents one of the major health problems in our country at the present time. Both obstetric and pediatric approaches will help in reaching this objective.

Certain women are likely to have an unfavorable outcome of pregnancy. These "high-risk" groups include the following: Those with a history of complications or unfavorable outcomes in previous pregnancies; those with a complication in a current pregnancy; those who have received no prenatal care or delayed prenatal care; those from the lower socioeconomic groups, including those who are recipients of the various public assistance programs; those pregnant out of wedlock; those residing in communities without access to medical and health care of reasonably good quality; those with social or emotional problems; those under 20 years of age, or over 30 years of age who have had five or more pregnancies; those who are undernourished; those who are newcomers to a community; and those with a family history of a genetic condition. Intensive efforts are necessary to identify these high-risk women, and to concentrate attention on

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[1] The definition of perinatal mortality is a combination of late fetal mortality and neonatal mortality, using the classification recommended by the Committee on Maternal and Child Care of the American Medical Association.

TABLE 1. Maternal Mortality Rates by Size of County for Rural and Urban Populations, United States, 1958–59 [a]

	Urban	Rural	Total
All counties	3.6	4.0	3.8
Metropolitan counties	3.6	2.6	3.3
Nonmetropolitan counties	3.7	4.9	4.4

[a] Source: National Vital Statistics Division, Public Health Service (11, pp. 159–166).

TABLE 2. Mortality Rates by Age Levels for Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Counties, United States, 1959

Age group	Metropolitan counties	Nonmetropolitan counties
Infant	[a] 23.7	[a] 30.9
Neonatal	[a] 17.7	[a] 21.1
Postneonatal	[a] 6.0	[a] 9.8
1–4 years	[b] 89.0	[b] 133.0
5–14 years	[b] 39.0	[b] 57.0
15–24 years	[b] 83.0	[b] 141.0

[a] Per 1,000 live births.
[b] Per 100,000 population.

them (18). This represents one of the major approaches to further reduction in perinatal mortality and morbidity.

Special Problems of Rural Areas

As shown in table 1, women in the nonmetropolitan counties, especially the rural areas, have a higher maternal mortality rate.

The highest rates as shown in table 2 are found in the East South Central (8.0), the West South Central (6.9), the South Atlantic (6.3), and Mountain (4.8) regions. Furthermore, infants delivered in nonmetropolitan counties have higher neonatal mortality rates. Studies conducted in widely separated areas (3, 7, 8, 9, 16, 21) show that maternity and newborn care is at a disadvantage in smaller communities. Factors of importance include the quality of staff, equipment, and facilities in smaller hospitals; the nonavailability of medical specialists on an emergency basis; the nonavailability of resident staff; geographic accessibility and transportation; the nonavailability of prenatal clinics in rural areas.

HEALTH NEEDS AND SERVICES FOR INFANTS AND PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

Mortality

The postneonatal mortality rate (in infants aged 1 through 11 months) has declined markedly in the United States, much more rapidly than the neonatal mortality rate. In 1958, it was 7.6 per 1,000 live births; however, the rate among nonwhites was 16.7 in contrast to 6.0 for white infants. The major causes of postneonatal mortality are influenza and pneumonia, congenital malformations, gastrointestinal infections, and accidents. With the exception of congenital malformations, all of these major causes are related to the infant's home environment, are preventable, and should be favorably affected by continuous health supervision.

Morbidity

Information is available from two morbidity studies of children. The California Study of Illness (4) in 1954–55 revealed that the most frequent types of illness in children under 5 years of age were diseases of the respiratory system, accidents, and diseases of the digestive system. The California Study showed that 91 percent of the children under 5 years of age were reported by the mothers to have at least one "problem with behavior" of any degree, and 64 percent had behavior of intermediate or serious concern.

Information available from the U.S. National Health Survey of 1957–58 (12) indicated that acute illness and injuries were most common in children under 5 years of age, who averaged four acute illnesses or injuries annually. The most common conditions were similar to those reported in the California Study. Children under 5 years of age had the most frequent number of physician visits per person per year (6.4 visits); 68 percent of the visits were for diagnosis and treatment, 15 percent for immunization, and 12 percent for general checkup. The higher the family income, the larger the number of physician visits.

Health Supervisory Services for Infants and Preschool Children

Health supervisory services for infants and preschool children represent one of the major preventive approaches in the health field. Their purposes are to keep well children well, to guide parents in child-rearing, to apply known effective preventive techniques, to identify infants and children with adverse health conditions and to refer them for medical care. The health supervisory service provided for infants and children on an organized basis in communities is the well child conference. Data on this program in 1937 and 1959 in the United States are as follows:

	Percent of total population covered	
	1937	*1959*
Age group:		
Infants	6.0	20.0
Preschool children	2.2	6.6

While the percentage of both infants and preschool children covered through well child conferences tripled from 1937 to 1959, nevertheless, the coverage for preschool children is still extremely small.

Special Problems of Rural Areas

The mortality rates during the postneonatal and preschool periods are 50 percent higher in nonmetropolitan counties than in metropolitan counties (table 2).

In the U.S. National Health Survey in 1957–58 (12), physician visits per child per year for children under 5 years of age were lowest in rural farm families (4.5 visits), next lowest in rural nonfarm families (6.1 visits), and highest in urban families (7.0 visits). This information is similar to that found in 1946 by the American Academy of Pediatrics (2); in the 1946 study, children in isolated counties received one-third less medical care than those in or near cities, with major deficiencies in the amount of care by specialists, hospitals, and clinics. The availability of practicing physicians was markedly less in isolated counties. The metropolitan counties were better supplied with hospital beds for children than rural counties. The quality of hospital care for children was lower in rural counties. Little outpatient care was provided for children by hospitals, except in metropolitan counties. Well child conferences were held predominantly in metropolitan counties. Although one-third of all counties had no public health nursing services, more of these services were provided for children in metropolitan counties. The preschool child received less health supervision away from the cities.

It is evident from the foregoing data that, in general, infants and preschool children in rural areas have more serious health problems, but fewer resources to prevent or care for them.

HEALTH NEEDS AND SERVICES FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH OF SCHOOL AGE

Mortality

Mortality among children and youth (in the age groups 4–14 years and 15–24 years) has decreased significantly. The major causes of death among children aged 5–14 years in 1958 were accidents, cancer and other malignant diseases, congenital malformations, influenza, pneumonia, rheumatic fever, and heart diseases. In the age group 15–24 years, the major causes are accidents, cancer and other malignant diseases, homicide, suicide, and diseases of the heart. An effective school health program should have a favorable effect in further reducing the mortality from all of the causes listed above except in the case of the malignant diseases.

Morbidity

Data from the U.S. National Health Survey in 1957–58 indicate that respiratory diseases, infections and parasitic diseases, injuries and digestive conditions make up the acute conditions in the 5–14 and 15–24 age group, and were the major causes of loss of school days. School children 5–14 years of age and youth 15–24 years of age had fewer acute conditions per person per year (3.5 and 2.7 respectively) than infants and preschool children.

Still another way of looking at illness in children of school age and youth is to review Selective Service data (15). Approximately 44 percent of all men aged 18–37 years examined for service in the Armed Forces in 1944–45 were rejected. The leading causes for rejection in 1944 were mental disease, 26.8 percent; failure to meet minimum intelligence standards, 12.8 percent; musculoskeletal defects, 8.8 percent; cardiovascular defects, 8.0 percent; hernia, 4.9 percent; ears, 4.4. percent; neurological disorders, 4.1 percent; eye defects, 4.0 percent; tuberculosis, 3.4 percent; and mental deficiency, 2.6 percent. It is evident from this list of major causes that a considerable percentage of the men had conditions which were remediable. During 1961, only 50.9 percent of all men in draft age were found acceptable for military service. An effective school health program (10), it is felt, should be able to detect adverse health conditions in children and youth, and provide the necessary counseling, referral and followup services so that they will be brought under care, and, where correctible, will be corrected.

Special Problems of Rural Areas

The mortality rate in children 5–14 years of age in nonmetropolitan counties is 50 percent higher than that of children in metropolitan counties. In the 15–24 year age group, the rate in nonmetropolitan counties is almost double that in metropolitan counties (table 2).

In the U.S. National Health Survey in 1957–58, in both age groups (5–14 and 15–24 years), the number of physician visits per person per year was lowest in rural farm groups, next lowest in rural nonfarm groups, and highest in the urban groups.

Types of changes needed in health programs of many rural communities and small cities are illustrated by recommendations from an investigation in Austin, Minnesota, a town of 30,000 persons (20). The study revealed areas in which steps were indicated to strengthen the program, including medical and dental supervision; supervision of the school nursing staff and program; integration of the program with the public health program in the community; inservice training of staff in health subjects; teacher observation and the periodic teacher-nurse conference; interchange of information with the child's physician; safety and accident prevention (reporting of all accidents and strengthening of supervision on the playground during the lunch period); handicapped children; the dental program (dental health instruction, fluoridation); the nutrition program (health instruction and the diet of teenagers, especially girls); the health instruction program (use of more recent materials and of a planned sequential curriculum based on major health problems in children); and the environmental aspects of the school plant.

DENTAL HEALTH

Dental caries, periodontal disease, and malocclusion are common conditions in childhood and youth. Dental caries may become manifest in the deciduous (temporary) teeth soon after their eruption, and it is almost universal by school age. Untreated dental caries leads to loss of teeth. Premature loss of the deciduous teeth and especially of the first permanent molars is a major cause of dental malocclusion. Early and regular dental treatment is necessary during the preschool period, as well as during the periods of childhood, adolescence and later life.

There is ample evidence that reduction in dental caries of about 60 percent in childhood can be achieved in communities with fluoride-deficient water supplies by adjusting the fluoride concentration to one part per million, without demonstrable systemic effects of any kind. By the end of January 1961, the number of communities that had added fluoride to their water supplies was 1,968 and the population served was 38.5 million. In addition, some 7 million people live in communities with a natural fluoride content of 0.7 or more parts per million of water. Thus 45.5 million people—less than one-fourth of the U.S. population—live in areas benefiting from fluoridated water.

Special Problems of Rural Areas

In the U.S. National Health Survey, it was found that children and youth in rural farm areas had the lowest number of dental visits per person per year; children in rural nonfarm areas had the next lowest number of visits.

Fluoridation has been accepted more in larger communities than in smaller ones. Thus, by the end of 1959, 61 percent of all communities with populations over 500,000 had fluoridated water. The comparable figures in smaller communities were: 500,000–100,000, 35 percent; 100,000–10,000, 34 percent; under 10,000, 8 percent.

Thus, the evidence is clear that children and youth in rural areas are at a disadvantage, from the viewpoint of dental health.

SAFETY AND ACCIDENT PREVENTION

Accidents are the first cause of death among individuals aged 1 to 35 years at the present time in the United States. For children under 5 years of age, the most frequent types of accidental deaths are motor vehicle, burns, drowning, falls, and poisons; three-quarters of all these deaths occur at home. In children aged 5–14 years, the most frequent types are motor vehicle, drowning, burns, firearms, and falls. For youth aged 15–24 years, the most frequent types are motor vehicle, drowning, firearms, and railroad accidents. Since 1900, the death rate due to accidents has gradually decreased among children under 15 years of age, although a plateau in mortality has existed since 1955. There has, however, been no decrease in mortality due to accidents among persons 15–24 years of age during this period.

As important as is the problem of mortality in children and youth due to accidents, nonfatal accidents also are frequent. According to the U.S. National Health Survey, approximately 23.4 million persons under 25 years of age received injuries that caused them to seek medical attention or to restrict their normal daily activities for at least a day, during the year ending June 1958. About one-third of the children and youth under 25 years of age are injured annually. Home accidents are the chief cause of injuries among children under 15 years of age. For young people 15–24 years of age, motor vehicle, work accidents, and home accidents are of major importance.

Special Problems of Rural Areas

Each year in the United States, more than 3,000 farm workers are killed in accidents while working. This is an average of more than 10 fatalities per working day. In addition, almost a hundred times as many suffer permanent physical impairment, and many of these injuries are extremely serious. Data for 1961 show that there are 8,700 fatalities among farm residents from accidental causes. Of these, 3,500 involved motor vehicles, and 2,100 occurred in the farm home. Accidents at work accounted for 2,700 deaths, and public nonmotor vehicle accidents accounted for 900 fatalities.

Nearly 1 million farm people were injured as a result of accidents in 1958; 170,000 of these involved the motor vehicle; 400,000 occurred in the farmhome; 300,000 as a result of work; and 100,000 in public nonmotor vehicle accidents.

The death rate in farmwork was third highest of all of the major industries, being exceeded only by the extractive industries and construction. It is six times safer to work in a factory than on a farm because factories have supervision, training, enforcement, and insurance. Farmers generally lack safety supervision, training, and enforcement. There is great need to reach farm people through education.

In a more recent study by the U.S. National Health Survey of persons injured in the home in 1959–61, the rate of injury was highest in rural nonfarm areas. The proportion of persons injured outside the house was found to be highest in rural farm areas (13).

HEALTH SERVICES FOR HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Health services for handicapped children have undergone considerable expansion and improvement since the enactment of the Social Security Act in 1935. The number of children covered by State Crippled Children's Programs has increased from 110,000 in 1937 to 355,000 children in 1960, and the extent of coverage has doubled from 2.4 per 1,000 children under 21 years of age in 1937 to 4.9 in 1960 (6). Furthermore, the definition of a handicapped child has been broadened by many State Crippled Children's Programs. Almost all States now include children with many types of congenital malformations, orthopedic conditions, cerebral palsy, burns and other disability associated with accidents and trauma, birth injuries, and tuberculosis.

However, there is still limitation in the breadth of coverage of some types of handicapped children by some State Crippled Children's Programs (17).

Children with sensory disorders, epilepsy, rheumatic fever and heart disease, dental and dentofacial conditions, and such long-term conditions as diabetes are not included in all States. Furthermore, children with emotional disorders are usually excluded, and many State programs exclude mentally retarded children.

The number of handicapped children in the United States is large. For example, from the U.S. National Health Survey in 1957–58, it was estimated (12) that 9.2 million children (17.5 percent of the population under 15 years of age) have one or more chronic conditions. Chronic activity limitation affected approximately 744,000 children (1.4 percent of the population under 15 years of age). Thus, while much progress has been made, much remains to be done from a quantitative point of view. Furthermore, there is evidence of unevenness in the quality of care.

Special Problems of Handicapped Children in Rural Areas

Handicapped children residing in rural areas are still at a disadvantage regarding services available to them, as compared with children in urban areas. Data from a recent study of cerebral palsied individuals in Minnesota (19) are used for illustrative purposes.

A fundamental difference was found in the type of medical care provided for patients with cerebral palsy in urban and rural areas. For example, while 46 percent of patients in urban areas were under the care of a medical specialist, only 34 percent of rural patients were receiving such care. Disparities were evident in such medical specialties as pediatrics, orthopedic surgery, opthalmology, and otology. Whereas 77 percent of urban patients had been seen by a dentist in the previous year, only 64 percent of rural patients had done so. This disparity also applied to therapy services, as evidenced by the following:

	Percentages	
	Urban	*Rural*
Received physical therapy	79.9	68.5
Received occupational therapy	43.5	18.9
Received speech therapy	46.0	28.7
Received no therapy	12.9	22.8

Forty percent of children with cerebral palsy of school age in rural areas were not attending school, in contrast to 31.5 percent in urban areas. Almost three-quarters of the rural children in school were in regular classes, in contrast to almost half of the urban group in a special day school. While the number of patients receiving vocational assistance was small, nevertheless, this percentage for urban patients (11.8 percent) was almost twice as high as rural patients (6.6 percent). Ninety-five percent of the rural patients were not employed, in contrast to 88 percent in the urban group. Differences between the two groups are clear.

MIGRANT FAMILIES

There are special health problems and needs among mothers and children of migrant families (15). Infant mortality rates have been reported three times as high among them as in nearby urban areas. Maternal mortality rates are high. Migrant mothers nearly always work in the fields; small children are taken to the fields early in the morning, spend long hours in locked cars, play in roadways or drainage ditches. There may be hazardous conditions such as danger from cars, trucks, farm machinery, insecticides, excessive exposure to the sun, or heavily traveled roads. Accident hazards are common, often resulting from inadequate transportation. Day care is usually not available to children. They may be locked in hot cabins all day, with little or no supervision. Housing may be poor and unsafe; there may be poor cooking facilities, little or no refrigeration, poor sanitary conditions, including sewage disposal, water supply, and garbage disposal.

Children often go hungry, are undernourished, and have anemia. Diarrhea and parasitic infections are not uncommon. Eye and ear infections, and the communicable diseases of childhood occur frequently. The immunization rate among children of migrant families is low. There is a higher frequency of positive reactions to the tuberculin test, indicating exposure to individuals with active tuberculosis. Dental disease is common.

One of the underlying problems is the lack of available health, medical and hospital services and care to migrant families. Reasons for this include the lack of such services generally; residence requirements which prevent migrant families from using existing services; and lack of knowledge for securing care. In any event, the end result is the same—the need for assistance in securing preventive health services, the problem of delayed medical and health care of pregnant women, infants, and children, and the problem of paying medical and hospital bills. As examples, a large proportion of pregnant women receive no prenatal care, and have inadequate delivery and postpartum care. Because of the problem of medical care, there is delay in children receiving diagnostic and treatment services; not infrequently children are seldom seen early in their illnesses.

Indians of the United States today have health problems resembling in many respects those of the general population of the Nation a generation ago. Thus, they represent a disadvantaged group in today's society. Inadequate health services partly explain the present depressed condition of Indian health. Lack of health services, however, is not alone responsible for poor health among Indians. Substandard and overcrowded housing and lack of adequate sanitary facilities have been among the factors promoting disease. Often water is scarce and from contaminated sources. Indian reservations typically are in remote and sparsely settled areas. The education and family income levels are low. The total identified Indian population in continental United States was estimated at 472,000 in 1955, half of whom are less than 20 years of age (14).

Mortality rates among Indian mothers, children, and youth were two to five times those for the United States as a whole approximately a decade ago (14):

Table 3. Mortality Rates Among American Indians [a] [b]

	Indians	United States
Maternal mortality per 10,000	23.0	7.5
Infant mortality per 1,000	77.9	32.7
1–4 years	7.0	1.4
5–9 years	1.3	0.6
10–14 years	1.0	0.6
15–19 years	2.6	1.1
20–24 years	4.0	1.5

[a] All rates for the Indians are for 1951–53, except for maternal mortality which is for the 1949–53. All rates for the United States are for 1952, except for maternal mortality which is for 1951.

[b] Source: Public Health Service (14).

The high maternal mortality rate in Indian women was associated with toxemia, hemorrhage, and infection, all of them preventable causes. At that time, the death rate for Indian women from hemorrhage was 4½ times that for the total population.

The high infant mortality rate among Indians is due primarily to the much higher risk at ages 7–27 days and 28 days to 11 months, compared with the total population in the United States. It was associated with pneumonia and influenza, gastroenteritis, infectious and parasitic diseases, and accidents, all related to the home environment and all considered preventable.

One other major cause of death among the Indians of significance to mothers and children is tuberculosis. Other major health problems include venereal diseases, trachoma, vision and hearing impairment, anemia, and congenital dislocation of the hip among the Navajo and Apache tribes of the Southwest.

Discharge diagnoses for Indian children under 15 years of age in small general Indian hospitals in the Albuquerque area (includes New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah) showed that influenza and pneumonia (19.6 percent), gastroenteritis (13.3 percent), other respiratory conditions (11.1 percent), infective and parasitic conditions (10.0 percent), accidents (8.3 percent), and eye and ear conditions (5.2 percent) were among the major causes of hospitalization of children in 1957. In individuals over 15 years of age, maternity care accounted for 35.9 percent of all hospital discharges in 1957. Deaths in infants and children from 0–19 years of age accounted for 51 percent of all deaths in the Indian group in the Albuquerque area. It was found that 20 percent of the 15–19 year group, 18 percent of the 10–14 year group, and 13 percent of the 5–9 year group of 1,124 children surveyed at the Navajo School in 1958 and 1959 had trachoma. In Tuba City, 8 percent of pregnant women registered for prenatal care in the first trimester of pregnancy, 17 percent in the second trimester, 40 percent in the third trimester, and 35 percent had no prenatal care in 1958. Only 8 percent of women returned for postpartum care.

CONCLUSIONS

Mothers, children, and youth in rural areas are in a disadvantaged position, as compared with those in urban areas, with respect to health status and health care. In spite of the increased emphasis given to mothers and children in rural areas under Title V of the Social Security Act, this disparity continues to exist. The rural emphasis presently contained in Title V of the Social Security Act should be continued. More funds, a larger pool of trained personnel, and continued sound planning at State and regional levels within each State are essential, if further progress in the care of mothers, children, and youth in rural areas is to be achieved. The continued high birth rate and the increase in the childhood population mean that merely to proceed at the present level of services in the long run will actually result in a step backward. Expansion of existing services and development of additional services are essential if we are to be able to keep up with the increase in the childhood population and with new knowledge.

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Chapter 12

Services to Mentally Retarded Children and Youth in Rural Areas

Based on

Mental Retardation: The Present Problem

Albert J. Shafter, Ph.D., Superintendent of the Enid State School, Enid, Oklahoma.

The Development of Services for Mentally Retarded Children and Youth in Rural Areas.

William A. Fraenkel, Ph.D., Executive Director, New York City Chapter, Association for the Help of Retarded Children.

Mental retardation is the popularly and professionally accepted term for what has heretofore been called feeblemindedness, mental deficiency, and mental subnormality. The most accepted definition is that used by the American Association on Mental Deficiency which is:

> subaverage general intellectual functioning which originates during the developmental period and is associated with adaptive behavior.

In more common terms, mental retardation simply means impaired ability to learn and to adapt to the demands of society. It has more than 200 known or suspected causes ranging from genetically determined inborn errors of metabolism, physical damage to or lack of development of the brain due to deprivation of maternal care, motivation for learning, nutritional and other growth needs, and/or other environmental deficiencies.

Adaptive behavior may be classified in the following way:

Profound.—Gross impairment in motor and sensory development. Dependent upon supervision and care. Often physically handicapped.

Severe.—Motor development, speech, language are retarded, but not completely dependent. Physically handicapped in some instances.

Moderate.—Backward in development but able to learn self-care. Children attend "trainable" classes. Adults work and live in sheltered environment. Semidependent.

Mild.—Development slow. Children learn in "educable" classes. Adults, with training, work in competitive employment.

While in the past, the mentally retarded were grouped into three main categories: idiot, imbecile, and moron; custodial, trainable, and educable; or dependent, semidependent, and marginally independent, classifications based on intelligence alone are too limited (2). Consequently, it has become practical to use four groupings: profound, severe, moderate, and mild mental retardation. The accompanying chart breaks down the United States' retarded population of more than 5.6 million persons into these four categories.

TABLE 1. Estimates of Retardation by Age and Degree—1963 (8)

	All ages	Under 20 years	20 years and above
General population	189 million	73 million	116 million.
3 percent	5.7 million	2.2 million	3.5 million.
1 percent	1.9 million	.7 million	1.2 million.
Retarded:			
Profound (IQ 20) about 1½ percent	85 thousand	50 thousand	35 thousand.
Severe (IQ 20-35) about 3½ percent	200 thousand	100 thousand	100 thousand.
Moderate (IQ 36-52) about 6 percent	350 thousand	150 thousand	200 thousand.
Mild (IQ 53 plus) about 89 percent	5 million plus	2 million plus	3 million (1 million plus needing help).

While 3 percent of the population is retarded, at least 10 million parents, 5–10 or even 15 million siblings and another 10 million grandparents are directly affected by this disability. The annual out-of-pocket cost of mental retardation to America is estimated at more than a billion dollars, while the loss to the economy would add another 5 billion. This is the equivalent of one-seventh of the Nation's annual farm income.

Since the formation of the National Association for Retarded Children, Inc., in 1950 by parents and friends of the mentally retarded, there has been a burgeoning interest in the development of services to this handicapped group. The complexity of mental retardation, coupled with the fact that it is pervasive, present throughout the lifetime of the victim, requires an array of services of health, education, welfare, rehabilitation, employment, and legal agencies. These services must be organized with such a degree of continuity that the retarded person may move with ease from one to another as he needs these services individually or in combination. Changes in attitudes and values of rural residents toward mental retardation point to the greater likelihood of developing needed services in rural areas.

CHANGING RURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD MENTAL RETARDATION

For a number of years, there has been a rather pleasant assumption that mental retardation was an urban problem. The "proof" was the fact that urban areas contributed disproportionately large numbers of first admissions to residential facilities. An investigation in Iowa in 1920 indicated the proportion of first admissions was roughly the reverse of the split in the rural-urban population; whereas Iowa in 1920 was approximately 80 percent rural, approximately 80 percent of the first admissions were from urban areas. In 1940, 44.6 percent of Iowa was urban, but Shafter and Coe (12) found that 68.9 percent of all first admissions came from these areas.

In a more intensive analysis of Iowa and New York for 1940 and 1950, Shafter and Kenkel (13) found that while urban areas continued to contribute a disproportionate share of first admissions to residential facilities, the number was decreasing significantly. An examination of first admissions for 1960 for these two States reveals that the trend has continued. It would appear that by 1970 or 1980, first admissions will be approximately proportionately equal for rural and urban areas. Therefore, the "proof" no longer has validity.

The significant increases in numbers of first admissions from rural areas led Chandler and Shafter to begin an investigation to determine why rural families had decided to apply for institutionalization of their children. Unfortunately, before the study was completed, the investigators left Iowa. Therefore, the findings presented here are suggestive rather than definitive.

Briefly, 35 rural families who had applied for institutionalization of their children were interviewed. All children had been classified either profoundly, severely, or moderately retarded. Interviews were open-ended, lasted several hours, and revolved around the question of what had been the determining factors in their decision to apply for institutionalization of their children. It became clear that five sets of factors, often interdependent, seemed to be operating. No attempt is made here to place them in their order of importance.

First, farm housing is changing; the three-bedroom ranch dwelling throws the family in contact with each other to a greater extent than ever before. There no longer is the upstairs room to hide the "different" member of the family.

Second, increased mobility has decreased the isolation the farm family once experienced. The automobile brings visitors every day, and permits the farm family to go to town each day if they so desire. The retarded child can either be an embarrassment at home or a hindrance to the family's mobility. Moreover, some wives who wish to work in nearby villages and towns could not do so because of the mentally retarded child at home.

Third, farming has become more complex and correspondingly more dangerous. Mechanization, mixing feeds, and the other demands placed upon the farm worker have gone beyond the capabilities of the moderately mentally retarded. The inability of the mentally retarded child to be helpful around the farm, plus the dangers involved, make him a liability rather than an asset. In recent years, placement specialists have found it increasingly difficult to find farm employment for even the mildly retarded.

Fourth, the development of diagnostic facilities has made farm families, and their neighbors, aware that they have a mentally retarded child. The "different" child now becomes a retarded child once the label has been placed on him.

Fifth, the consolidation of schools with better screening, but without special education classes, has eliminated the mentally retarded child from community educational facilities. It is ironical that one-room schoolhouses could and did accommodate the retarded child.

In the final analysis, however, it was the conclusion of the investigators that a basic change had occurred in the attitudes of farm families toward mental retardation. The older notion that the family cared for its own was being subjected to the same pressures urban families had experienced years ago. Mobility, lack of educational opportunities, danger, and economic usefulness all played a part in changing some rather fundamental values of the rural family. This, of course, has been complicated by greater life expectancy for the profoundly and severely retarded child.

In summary, it now appears as though several things are occurring simultaneously to rural families and their mentally retarded children. Rural families seem to be acquiring urbanized values toward their children which will be reflected in a greater number of children being institutionalized. However, with increased knowledge of the causes of retardation, it may be anticipated that most of the rural families who will keep their children at home will demand facilities to assist in their care. As sophistication regarding retardation rises, so will the demands for special classes, sheltered workshops, day care centers, etc. In the past, requests for facilities for the mentally retarded have come from urban areas. It may be expected that similar requests will now come from rural areas.

RATIONALE FOR SERVICES

How can every rural village, town, county, city, and State provide the necessary "total program" and services needed for retarded persons and their families? Everywhere there can be seen the vast numbers to be served, the general lack of qualified personnel, the need for more adequate facilities, the necessity for greater financial support for such programs, the unevenness of programs and services around the Nation with some parts of the country more advanced than others, and an overall uninformed general public regarding the needs such retardates have for urgently needed services. What needs to be done?

Today it is becoming less important to classify the mentally retarded, as compared with understanding the range of programs and services different kinds of retardates may require. No matter how groupings are determined, the in-between persons are forever excluded. Some persons seem never to fit into prearranged and ordered schemes. Rather than defend or challenge any classification system, we need to consider instead the retardate. What problems does he pose? What solutions are in the offing? What kind of help is needed and who seems best able to provide it? What responsibilities do communities have to such persons and their families?

Each person tends to look upon the retardate differently depending upon his interest, discipline, agency, or responsibility to him. To one person he is a patient, to another a pupil, client, trainee, worker; and to still others a close relative, like a son or daughter or a sister or brother. But to all persons he must be thought of primarily as an individual who is in need of varying degrees of help. Some retarded persons require extensive evaluations, long periods of treatment, and considerable training and supervision to attain even the most limited personal and social goals of independence. Others are so minimally retarded as to pass unnoticed in the community. However, during periods of stress and crisis, these persons may require counseling and guidance to maintain a proper balance and continue to remain in the community on their own.

There are a number of persons working with the mentally retarded who feel that one cannot repair or reconstruct or rehabilitate the individual who is mentally retarded. They believe that the mentally retarded require a comprehensive, well-planned, interrelated program of services which permit them to achieve their full potential. They recommend that habilitation programs begin immediately after the diagnosis of mental retardation has been made. Such a view places the focus more on enabling these disabled to function than it does on restoring them functionally. Please note, the term disabled, not handicapped, was used. Mentally retarded persons are disabled. However, they all need not necessarily become handicapped. For example, they need not become educationally handicapped, socially handicapped, or vocationally handicapped, even though they will be limited in these areas. It is generally believed that through habilitation programs one can prevent many mentally retarded persons from becoming community handicaps.

Without question there are times when rehabilitation or restorative services will be required for mentally retarded persons. This occurs when planning programs and services for those mentally retarded persons who have secondary disabling conditions. Some examples are the mentally retarded cerebral palsied, the mentally retarded blind, or the mentally retarded with speech impairments. In such instances, a partial or full range of physical medicine and rehabilitation services may be indicated along with other services otherwise needed to cope with mental retardation problems.

It is becoming a more accepted viewpoint that the current estimated 5.6 million children and adults in this country believed to be mentally retarded require both rehabilitation and habilitation services. To provide essential programs and services for this large group of mentally retarded children and adults and their families, particularly in rural areas, there is obviously a need for a wide variety of services in the areas of health, education, and welfare.

There is sufficient knowledge and experience gathered throughout the nation to indicate what might be expected as realistic education and rehabilitation goals for mentally retarded youth and adults. These are, in the main, employment in competitive industry, sheltered employment, community activity programs, and residential services. All of these goals can be expected for most retarded youth and adults. However, noticeable differences will be found in the attainment of such goals in the three different functional categories of mentally retarded persons. The majority of such persons will be able to work, a lesser number will achieve sheltered work status, while an even smaller group will profit from community activity programs and residential services.

Considerable thought needs to be given to the problem of the 16–18 year old and older retardate who is out of school and in need of further education, training, or a rehabilitation service. Few public schools provide any special classes for this age person who either graduates, drops out or is terminated as unable to profit from further education even though legislation is "on the books" for such persons to receive an education to age 21. Few of these youths are considered eligible or feasible for vocational rehabilitation or other services. Consequently this group of retarded youth remain at home or in their local communities with little guidance or direction for their future. To maintain whatever gains they have made through education, as well as to prevent a diminution of function and a subsequent need for retraining, this group requires additional education or training, and/or rehabilitation services. Furthermore, there are some retardates in the 16–18 year old range who are employed but who still need rehabilitation services to overcome a personal or social problem they face on the job or at home.

At this point at least two crucial questions might be asked: (a) What type of educational or prevocational program will best prepare retarded youth for gainful employment? (b) What other services might be required before or after educational rehabilitation services to better prepare such retarded youth for competitive work?

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES

The 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth Recommendation 582 supplies a partial answer to both these questions. This resolution states:

> That such urgently needed community facilities for the mentally handicapped as the following be developed and improved at an accelerated rate: diagnostic and treatment clinics; public health services; preschool nurseries; day care centers; special education; vocational and prevocational services; sheltered workshops and other work opportunities; vocational guidance; counseling; habilitation and rehabilitation services; foster homes; residential treatment centers; recreational opportunities in existing programs where feasible, or in special programs as needed; camps; parent counseling and homemaker services; opportunities for religious participation. (4, p. 386).

At the same White House Conference it was recommended:

> That community facilities for diagnosis and identification be readily accessible to anyone suspected of a mental handicap; provide integrated diagnostic study involving all necessary professional skills; provide counseling, including parent-to-parent counseling where appropriate, as an integral part of the service; direct special attention to the needs of rural areas (4, p. 387).

So far as can be determined, this is the only reference in the 1960 White House Conference Forum Recommendations to problems facing the mentally retarded in rural areas. The challenges ahead, the rehabilitation of those rural youths and adults diagnosed as mentally retarded, requires the best thinking, careful planning, and wise action on the part of all. No one can claim a monopoly on service. However, one can admit to a common need, to a public responsibility, to the urging for a united all-out attack on mental retardation in rural America.

The starting point for such an attack is the individual affected. Describe what his needs may be; think about how best to meet his needs. Consider what programs and services may be required to enable such persons to assume their share of citizenship responsibility. Focus on the person who is retarded. Think of him as a family member. Consider the relationship and responsibility of the family to the rehabilitation process. Take a look at the community and neighborhood where such a "handicapped family" resides.

FACILITIES FOR THE MENTALLY RETARDED IN RURAL AREAS

A perusal of the literature reveals few facilities located in rural areas which are designed to serve the mentally retarded in a specific area. As Rothstein (11, p. 481) has said, "The truly forgotten mentally retarded child is one who lives in a rural area." Facilities may be found in rural areas but they are designed to serve rather wide geographical areas rather than a localized rural setting. For example, the well-known Marbridge Ranch in Texas could be considered to have a rural locale but young men from all parts of the State are sent there for training (9).

In urban areas throughout the Nation may be found sheltered workshops, day care and rehabilitation centers, etc., for the mentally retarded. As yet, few facilities have been established for areas with a dispersed population (7, 15). The mentally retarded in rural areas are taken to urban areas for diagnostic purposes but the distance often eliminates them from the opportunity of attending day care centers, sheltered workshops, etc. Once the diagnosis has been established, most facilities are closed to them.

Kolstoe (6) has reported the establishment of a combined employment training and evaluation center as well as a sheltered workshop in a rural area. At one point an attempt was made to provide day services for mentally retarded persons in the surrounding area. However, the problems of transportation and scheduling led to a modification of this approach so, while a few did commute, a dormitory type of living was established.

Shafter and Renzaglia (14) examined the problem of establishing a sheltered workshop in an area of dispersed population in Illinois. Although this survey was concerned with all types of disabilities, it was found there was a great desire for some type of sheltered workshop for persons in rural areas. However, problems of transportation and coordination of activities created a situation which did not lend itself to an easy solution. Urban areas have a great advantage with public transportation. The Illinois report recommended that regional centers be established for the purpose of serving a dispersed population. Within the region, satellite or subregional centers could be established for actual operation while the regional center would provide coordination for a variety of operations. In such a situation, the regional center would provide diagnostic and evaluation services as well as coordinate all subregional activities. For the mentally retarded it would seem feasible for the residential facility responsible for the area to serve as the regional center.

Whether this approach or another is adopted, it is clear that the previous experiences of urban areas will provide only suggestions for the future development of facilities for the mentally retarded in rural areas. Some paths have been outlined. It is now up to the Nation to decide what it wants to do for the mentally retarded (10).

Nineteen States and the District of Columbia responded. What information was provided? What suggestions were offered? Here are some answers:

- California reports ". . . There can be several approaches to prepare retarded youth in rural America for employment, among these, greater use of 4–H Clubs, homemaker services for retarded females and farm and craft work for retarded males . . . better location of rehabilitation counselors in rural parts of the State would help . . ."
- Delaware wants to see "more sheltered workshops, more opportunities for retardates to get drivers' licenses, and live-in industries . . ."
- From the District of Columbia ". . . encourage parents to place their children in training situations . . . identify certain small town

or rural jobs that could well be performed by qualified mentally retarded persons . . . workshops with halfway-house living accommodations are essential . . ."

- Hawaii states ". . . though not rural they believe in sheltered workshops at this time which seem to be satisfactory . . ."
- Iowa would like to have ". . . development of facilities start in a logical order with activity programs as well as workshops in the network of services operating . . ."
- Louisiana believes in "a coordinated approach through proper legislation . . . regional centers is the key."
- Michigan states that ". . . a move is on to have smaller school districts . . . greater use of the University Farm or Home Extension Services for training retarded youth . . . for the girls . . . training for cannery work . . . for the boys State and national forest jobs . . . the Domestic Peace Corps might work with 20 or some retarded in a small living plan working as pickers."
- Missouri believes that a "three-level shop would do the trick—one level for evaluation, work adjustment, and a varied training program aimed toward placement; a middle level for those needing sheltered jobs and a third level for those requiring day care services . . ."
- New Mexico would like to see ". . . selected job training for non-automated jobs . . . more adequate transportation . . . regulated stoop labor in . . . jobs like poultry production, laundry work, cooking, dorm work, crop packaging, etc . . ."
- North Carolina sees a solution ". . . if we can get vocational training centers and some type of workshops in as many areas as is possible so that they are easily accessible to the total population this would be ideal . . ."
- South Carolina recommends specific job training be provided "like millwork, yard work, nursery jobs and homemaker training . . . we should start early in the life of the retardates . . . in the home, preschool programs, day care service, public school classes, etc . . ."
- South Dakota ". . . the only answer is a by-the-week residential center located in the area to provide a total program . . . ongoing sheltered workshops could serve more retarded persons in the rural areas if residential centers near these shops were available . . ."
- Tennessee states ". . . we are attempting to solve the problem through vocational training centers for mentally retarded adults and other handicapped people in the nonmetropolitan counties, whose population ranges from 12,000–60,000 . . ."
- Texas feels ". . . our two agricultural-ranch type workshops with residential units appear to be working out very well in Austin, and in the Rio Grande Valley . . ."
- Virginia would like to see "sheltered employment on an individual basis in . . . areas like farming, nursery work or in small industry . . . more parent participation is essential for any program to succeed . . ."

- The State of Washington reports "... supervised work centers need further exploration. Crews of such workers have received emergency calls for harvesting of early ripening crops, planting of trees, etc."
- From West Virginia "... the best approach would be the establishment of sheltered workshops in the more populated areas with dormitory facilities. Another alternative would be to train the mentally retarded from rural areas in centers in occupations found in rural areas, i.e., dairy husbandry, shoe repair, gardening, dairy farming."

RECOMMENDATIONS

In general, more retarded individuals have greater needs for transportation. One possible solution to this problem might be the development of mobile rehabilitation units constructed like the travelling library or X-ray units. Mobile rehabilitation units for retarded youth could schedule visitations to rural parts of a State in advance and with properly staffed vehicles could provide casefinding evaluations and some vocational interviewing, testing or training.

Regional centers might be a partial answer in other instances. In such centers staff persons could carefully evaluate and train persons from some of the outlying areas. When facilities and staff persons are in short supply, the regional center that is adequately financed and properly located seems to offer some solution in this problem.

Informal residential units are thought of as those live-in settings, dorms and the like, for short-stay purposes. Upon completion of evaluation or training, persons would be expected to leave for other living quarters. In some instances such live-in arrangements can be rehabilitation-oriented as they are in some States with the focus on teaching the resident how to live in the residence so that when he leaves he can do the same thing elsewhere.

There needs to be a more creative use of existing facilities around the Nation. Too often one group of handicapped are in dire need of a facility, require services of one sort or another while in the same community there are available facilities which lack sufficient people to serve. In a number of instances, retarded persons can be served in facilities which ordinarily do not serve them. This requires further study and review and should receive some priority. Communities cannot afford to waste human resources in this fashion.

Voluntary and governmental resources are needed of a variety of types. Voluntary programs demand a more stable financial base if they are to operate successfully. While it is important at times for Federal-State monies to be used to start or expand a voluntary agency program, local communities have to reevaluate their readiness and need to continue their financial support. In addition, more Federal-State established facilities need to be opened around the Nation to reduce the backlog of huge caseloads everywhere. It seems a bit too presumptuous to expect such programs to obtain local community support within the first 5 years. However, within the following 5 years it should be possible.

The argument still continues—generalist or specialist? By and large the answer tends to be that the more retarded the person may be, the greater the need exists for a specialist. On the other hand, the less retarded a person may be, the more need exists for a generalist. Others feel that generalists tend to become specialists by nature of the fact that they face numbers of situations where other professional persons are unavailable. In these instances, the generalist becomes more specialized in the other areas to do his job better. Training programs that prepare professional persons for work in rural America might find it desirable to have the generalist become more acquainted with the specialist and the opposite.

A number of pilot projects appear essential if the task ahead is ever to become manageable, much less properly handled. Some of the new ideas that might be tried out appear in the comments previously given by the States enumerated. Few of these suggestions have been documented, validated or replicated. The field is wide open for good projects in this area of work.

The President's Proposed Program for National Action to Combat Mental Retardation lists 95 major recommendations. Several bear on the subject at hand. For example, it is recommended (10, p. 122) that "Sheltered work opportunities for the mentally retarded should be extended beyond the traditional workshop setting." It is suggested that such activities might include conservation and maintenance of parks, recreational areas and grounds of public institutions, domestic service occupations, certain types of health service, and agricultural occupations. "Every effort must be made and all available services used to equip and train the retarded and assist them in finding suitable employment" (10, p. 129). "Methods of providing recreational and therapeutic activity centers to serve handicapped adults should be explored" (10, p. 123).

It is suggested that goals less than full employment for the retarded may be equally essential and suitable evaluation and training programs for this purpose ought to be established.

There should be some thought given to the need for a rural peace corps. The problems that retarded persons face in rural America are generally the same as those retarded youth face in nonrural areas of the Nation. However, as indicated earlier, without transportation, proper facilities of a partial residential nature and suitable staffing of such facilities, not much is going to happen to assist the retarded youth in rural parts of the Nation. It would seem that a rural peace corps would answer, in part, all three of these major problem areas:

- A motor corps could be established by a rural peace corps group who could transport retarded youth to and from essential programs and services.

- A rural peace corps could help construct, alter or repair buildings to make them more suitable for training purposes indicated.
- A rural peace corps could be trained just as the original Peace Corps is trained and be assigned to man some of the facilities needed to rehabilitate or properly train retarded rural youth for work.

In a number of instances the rural peace corps would find the challenge great and the rewards equal to the effort.

CONCLUSION

No one can forget to think about the fact that, at the current rate of incidence and prevalence, a retarded child is born every 5 minutes.

Families of such children should be able to obtain early and adequate diagnoses, suitable educational and training programs, and other essential services. As adults, such persons should be properly prepared for gainful employment or other useful activity.

Fortunately, there is a more positive attitude in the Nation that accepts the fact "that the retarded adult is a useful person and can help himself more than was ever known . . . before." This has been bolstered by the late President Kennedy's Panel Report, his Message to Congress (5) and his continued emphasis on equal opportunities for the mentally retarded (3). Recently passed Federal legislation dealing with expanded services for the mentally retarded will do much to alleviate many of the problems reviewed in this paper.

There are other problems yet to be overcome before the bold new approach every one is waiting for will occur. One of these is the proper utilization of available information already acquired. Another is learning how to help this group attain employment and work well with employers and other workers. There is still a major concern about the general inability of local communities adequately financially to support essential programs of direct help that increase the employability of the mentally retarded. Finally, research results rarely are applied where they might do the most good. Too often they are shelved, gather dust somewhere or appear in the literature. Not enough action research is being done nor are such studies properly transmitted to others when completed for instant use to help the group being studied.

Everything considered, rural youth of America who are retarded stand on the brink of great expectations. Without question, whatever can be done to further their employability will strengthen all of America.

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Chapter 13

Emotional Disturbance and Mental Illness Among Rural Children and Youth

By Richard L. Jenkins, M.D., Professor of Psychiatry, State University of Iowa

Fortunately the incidence of mental illness among youth, including rural youth, is low, and the incidence of mental illness among children, including rural chidren, is even lower.

There seems little advantage in discussing the incidence of emotional disturbance among rural children and youth from a statistical point of view. From my observation, I would say that almost all children and youth, rural and nonrural, are emotionally disturbed at some time or other. Fortunately, most of them do not remain that way. Enumeration of the incidence of emotional disturbance in rural youth or children would be quite meaningless without definitions of the degree and duration of the disturbance, and at present we lack satisfactory means for the definition of the degree of such disturbance. Lacking definition of the degree, we can hardly provide definition of the duration. For these reasons, an attempt to present a statistical consideration of incidence would not be meaningful. A developmental consideration has accordingly been chosen.

We may now consider some of the causes of mental illness and emotional disturbance among rural children and youth.

THE BRAIN-DAMAGED CHILD

It has long been recognized that serious brain damage, whether acquired prenatally, natally, or postnatally, may cause cerebral palsy, convulsive seizures, and mental deficiency. It is only in recent years that we have begun to realize that for every such severely handicapped child there are several slightly handicapped children whose handicaps, although real, are usually unrecognized. Certain infections, such as German measles early in pregnancy, toxemias of pregnancy, a difficult labor, serious febrile infections in infancy or early childhood are all likely to leave as their sequel a slightly damaged brain.

Although the brain is a very resilient and adaptive organ, it is adversely affected in its adaptive capacity by even minor organic damage. A characteristic sign is delay in the acquisition of motor skills without any general retardation of development such as marks the mentally retarded child. Perhaps the commonest mild problem is hyperactivity, distractibility and short attention span—characteristics which are bound to make the child's schooling difficult. A common result is poor motor coordination which is likely to show itself in crude handwriting and clumsiness in learning skilled acts such as jumping rope or playing ball. Problems in the visual perception of form may complicate the learning of both reading and writing. Difficulty in the control of emotion, difficulty in learning to "settle down" and to keep one's reactions under control are special problems for the brain-damaged child.

The small one-room school is not particularly successful educationally, but it often is able to relate itself reasonably well to the particular needs and handicaps of individual children. The consolidated school offers educational advantages but it may be too large to individualize much to the handicapped child and too small for special classes.

The incidence of this type of problem can be reduced by good prenatal care and good obstetrical care. The outcome is usually more favorable when the handicap is recognized and when suitable allowance is made for it. The behavioral aspects of overactivity and short attention span often respond well to medicinal treatment. Paradoxically, these children characteristically become quieter on cerebral stimulants and their behavior typically becomes worse on sedatives. The overactivity apparently results from reduced control by the cerebral hemispheres and often responds well to cerebral stimulants.

Some of these children are in need of relatively special methods of instruction even though they are not mentally retarded, for they are overly distractible and can give attention only under circumstances of minimal distracting influences.

So much for the brain-damaged, who constitute perhaps the most obvious of the groups of children prone to emotional disturbance. The most numerous group will be considered next.

THE OVERANXIOUS CHILD

By far the most common problem of emotional disturbance we see in children is the problem of the overanxious child. This is the child who is overtrained, overconcerned, overinhibited, or overdutiful. The process of growing up to be a socialized individual involves finding a balance between one's desires and the rights and desires of others. If too much concern and anxiety gets tied in to the question of conformity, then the development of the adult-dependent, overcontrolled child results.

The extent and severity of such problems are not adequately understood by parents, for the initial result is experienced by the child and may not be appreciated by the parent. The inhibited, anxious child is little problem to the parent unless or until the problem becomes so severe that the child develops illness or gross incapacity.

Many elements may contribute to such an imbalance. Lack of adequate parental warmth and reassurance is one. Too much parental stress on conformity or on achievement is another. Poor health or poor health in the family, and particularly neurotic illness of the mother, is a third. Family conflict may be important.

The anxiety-ridden, fearful, rigid adjustment to life which has been described certainly predisposes toward psychoneurotic breakdown or psychosomatic illness. This is the type of problem which we treat most successfully by our methods of psychotherapy—methods which are not widely available to urban children and which are usually not available to rural children at all. There is need for the development of more clinical facilities to serve rural areas, and for more community services to back them up. This problem also might be reduced by better parent education. Parents who are themselves overanxious and disturbed are not likely to benefit much from such education in handling their children. There are, however, many problems which arise from simple lack of understanding rather than from lack of capacity to use understanding. There are many parents, not themselves overanxious but whose children are overanxious, who simply do not realize the need for and the value of a little judicious praise and reassurance. Even from the narrowest point of view, they do not realize how much more constructive effect their words of criticism would have if they stood out against a background of warmth and approval. This comes under the broad head of helping adults to understand and respond to children's emotional needs as well as to their physical needs.

THE WITHDRAWN CHILD

The behavior pattern of the overanxious child often involves some measure of protective withdrawal, and withdrawal can be a bad sign. We see morbid reactions of withdrawal, often without evidences of anxiety, in adolescents and less commonly in young children. Withdrawal without anxiety is a particularly unfavorable sign. Man is by nature a social animal, and if he has by choice no friendly exchange with others, he is not normal. We do not know how often withdrawal in childhood or youth may be followed by mental illness either then or in early adult life. We know, however, that such withdrawal is an ominous sign, and that adult help for the child or adolescent in establishing more adequate social contacts is helpful. We know that the frequent isolation of rural life may contribute toward withdrawal. We know that children who show such withdrawal are more likely than other children to show the disorganization of a schizophrenic breakdown in adolescence or adult life. While to some degree the withdrawal is simply the indication of a child that is predisposed to such breakdown, yet there is also reason to believe that the withdrawal contributes to the likelihood of psychotic breakdown.

THE UNDOMESTICATED CHILD

A problem contrasting to that of the overanxious, overinhibited child and to which slight brain injury often makes a contribution is the problem of the undomesticated child. These children become problems to their families and neighbors by reason of their hostile, destructive behavior. The family background is characteristically unstable, with marital quarreling, often accentuated by drinking, separation, divorce and remarriage, and with the child either frankly unwanted or shifted from pillar to post. The rural child is a bit more at the mercy of the parents than the urban child, and the availability of other patterns from which he might learn socially acceptable behavior may be more limited.

When the individual grows up without the development of a warm and trusting relation with any adult, we see an egocentric and hostile personality who grows up without a normal capacity for affection, for loyalty, or for the development of conscience. Such individuals are prone to crimes of violence, often toward members of their own families. The extreme of this problem is the antisocial reaction.

Adequate mothering of young children is needed for the avoidance of this problem. Many mothers who are not doing an adequate job with a young child are able to do so if some of their financial or family concerns are reduced by financial or casework assistance. If the parents are not capable of a truly parental response, it is desirable to remove the child from the home as soon as possible. The "battered child syndrome" is too familiar and the outlook for the future of the child's personality is even more ominous. If the community is not to pay a heavy penalty for neglect resulting in the development of the antisocial individual, corrective community action needs to be taken early and community responsibility consistently maintained. The relative isolation of rural living, particularly if there is also racial or religious difference or conflict, may contribute in the development of the antisocial reaction. It may be added that any discrimination against a disadvantaged minority will make such problems more frequent and more intense.

THE REBELLIOUS CHILD

There are many children who cannot be called undomesticated but who become rebellious to adult authority. Rebellion against adult authority has troubled parents over the ages, and is certainly acute in the child-centered culture of modern America. Some observers have noted that while adolescence is a very stormy period in America, it seemed relatively smooth in China or at least in pre-Communist China. However, it is worth noting the difference in the significance of adolescence for the individual in the two cultures. In China, adolescence made very little difference in the individual's freedom of action. As an adult he was still subject to parental authority, and it was only the death of his parent that freed him from this control. The Chinese Communist Party has disturbed the relative tranquillity of the Chinese family by breaking this family authority, by training, encouraging, and in effect, requiring young Party members to denounce their fathers. With this characteristically Communist type of modernization, we may be sure that the relative tranquillity of adolescence of the older China has disappeared, at least for the young members of the Party.

Except in geriarchy or government by the aged such as that of old China, the attainment of adult status involves emancipation from parental control, and such a transition usually occasions problems. There is likely to be intense ambivalence. Each individual has some spark of a desire to make his own decisions, and each individual has some measure of self-doubt and desire to rely on someone older and wiser. The problem of rebellion against adult control is a major one in our culture because the transfer of power tends to occur so precipitately, at such early ages, and with so little effective preparation.

The rural scene has been one in which, in the past, this problem has been minimal, for the adolescent has had a very useful place and function on the farm. And surely it is not wholly a matter of chance that there developed a tradition in an agricultural economy like that of old China that the elderly were to be held in reverence. After all, it was the elderly who owned the land. In rural America, by contrast, a new country with an abundance of free land on the frontier, the old man's ownership of the land was not reinforced by an institutionalized reverence for the elderly. Its effect is further diminished because the development of more efficient methods of farming has resulted in migration of the younger generation to the cities and the car has brought to rural youth a kind of false emancipation. The extremely high rates of motor vehicle liability insurance for the young driver express this, even in rural areas.

Rebellious feeling is reduced by an understanding attitude and increased by what is taken to be arbitrary, selfish or unfeeling authoritarianism. Rebellious action depends in part upon the rebel's estimate of how far he can go. Rebelliousness is reduced by management which is kindly and reasonable but firm. It is increased by management which appears both capricious and weak.

THE SOCIALIZED DELINQUENT

When rebellious adolescents make common cause they may evolve the subculture of the socialized delinquent. The rural area sees its share of irresponsible rebellion and hell-raising on the part of young people and there is obvious need to provide reasonable curbs for such activity. The rural area does not see much of the more or less institutionalized problem of delinquent gangs which plague the more deteriorated areas of our great cities. In these urban situations, rebellious adolescents make common cause in a profound rebellion against the values of our culture, with tragic results. The rural examples of such group rebellion are likely to consist chiefly of pranks or such activities as the manufacture of moonshine whiskey which, unfortunate as it is, provides a threat to law and order which is only local at worst.

A major need in dealing with rebellious youth is to give them a stake in the social order by helping them acquire vocational skills. Our schooling is too much limited to the academic, and where vocational training is available to rural youth it is too often limited to training in farming, which cannot meet the need of that majority of rural youth who must move into industry.

Chapter 14

Mental Health and Mental Health Services in Rural Communities

Prepared by Carol L. McCarty and Beatrice M. Rosen, U.S. Public Health Service

Based on

Rural Mental Health Services for Children and Youth: Outpatient Psychiatric Clinics

Carol L. McCarty, Beatrice M. Rosen, and Anita K. Bahn, all associated with the Outpatient Studies Section, Biometrics Branch, National Institute of Mental Health, U.S. Public Health Service.

Development of Services for Meeting Mental Health Needs among Rural Children and Youth

Eugene L. Mariani, Ph.D., Program Director, Division of Mental Health, New Mexico Department of Public Health.

George E. Silva, M.S.W., Assistant Program Director, Division of Mental Health, New Mexico Department of Public Health.

Lester M. Libo, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Psychiatry and Director, Behavioral Science Program, Department of Psychiatry, University of New Mexico School of Medicine.

Recent emphasis on community mental health programs has highlighted the need for information about the number and kinds of psychiatric resources available in the different geographic areas of the Nation.

This chapter focuses on two major types of mental health services available in rural communities, the outpatient psychiatric clinic and development of consultation related to mental health services.

OUTPATIENT PSYCHIATRIC CLINICS IN THE UNITED STATES

Outpatient psychiatric clinics[1] play a major role in the provision of mental health services for children and youth. In contrast to the wide variety of outpatient mental health services available in urban areas, the psychiatric clinic is frequently the only mental health resource available in rural areas (7).

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[1] Defined as an outpatient mental health service unit with a psychiatrist in attendance at regularly scheduled hours who takes the medical responsibility for all clinic patients.

Clinic information has been obtained through the nationwide reporting program established in 1954 by the National Institute of Mental Health in cooperation with State mental health authorities (3, 5). The analysis is based on 1961 clinic data and 1960 census information.

Geographic Distribution of Clinic Resources

Reports were received from a total of 1,537 of 1,558 identified outpatient psychiatric clinics in the United States as of April 30, 1961. Only 56 clinics were located in rural areas, 400 were in small urban areas and almost 1,100 were in large urban areas. Small urban areas include cities from 2,500–24,999 persons. Large urban areas include cities of 25,000 or more persons.

Excluding the six rural facilities for adults only, there were only 50 clinics located in rural areas that served children; 12 served children (and their parents) exclusively and 38 served both children and adults. These 50 clinics represented only 4 percent of the 1,185 clinics in the country which served children and youth. In contrast, one-third of all persons under 18 years of age in the Nation lived in rural areas.

TABLE 1. Distribution of 1,537 Outpatient Psychiatric Clinics by Clinic Location and Age Group Served, United States, as of April 30, 1961

Age group served	Total	Location		
		Rural	Small urban (under 25,000 population)	Large urban (25,000 population or more)
Total number of clinics [1]	1,537	56	396	1,085
Clinics serving children and youth	1,185	50	354	781
Children (and parents) only	433	12	106	315
Children and adults	752	38	248	466
Clinics serving adults only	352	6	42	304
Total number of professional man-hours per week in clinics	294,681	3,528	29,823	261,330
Clinics serving children and youth	214,119	3,308	28,190	182,621
Children (and parents) only	102,857	332	7,595	94,930
(Estimated [2] for children only)	(93,200)	(300)	(6,900)	(86,000)
Children and adults	111,262	2,976	20,595	87,691
(Estimated [2] for children only)	(39,700)	(1,400)	(8,300)	(30,000)
Clinics serving adults only	80,562	220	1,633	78,709

[1] Excludes 21 clinics which did not report. None of these facilities were located in rural areas.

[2] Estimated on the percent of patients under 18 years of age.

TABLE 2. Distribution of Rural Clinics for Children and Youth and Rural Population, by Geographic Region and State, 1961

Geographic region and State	Number of rural clinics serving children and youth			Rural population under 18 years		Rural clinic population under 18 years	
	Total	Located in		Number (in thousands)[1]	Percent of total population under 18 years	Number [2]	Percent of total clinic population under 18 years [3]
		Standard metropolitan statistical areas	Nonmetropolitan areas				
Total United States [4]	50	19	31	20,955	32.8	4,428	1.9
Northeast	29	13	16	3,287	22.3	2,565	2.7
Connecticut	3	1	2	205	23.9	373	10.0
Massachusetts	1	----	1	317	18.6	108	1.1
New Jersey	2	2	----	248	12.3	225	2.3
New York	21	8	13	924	17.3	1,760	3.0
Pennsylvania	2	2	----	1,190	31.2	99	.8
4 other States	----	----	----	403	41.0	----	----
North Central	4	1	3	6,172	33.2	202	1.8
Iowa	1	----	1	489	49.5	90	3.4
Missouri	2	1	1	507	34.8	73	1.8
Wisconsin	1	----	1	566	38.9	39	.9
9 other States	----	----	----	4,610	31.4	----	----
South	11	2	9	9,156	44.1	1,031	11.3
Alabama	1	----	1	613	47.5	64	3.4
Delaware	3	2	1	58	35.6	739	65.9
Kentucky	1	----	1	670	58.8	21	1.2
Maryland	6	----	6	321	28.2	207	4.6
13 other States	----	----	----	7,494	44.0	----	----
West	6	3	3	2,339	23.8	630	3.6
California	4	2	2	784	14.4	554	3.8
Oregon	1	1	----	260	41.2	44	1.7
Utah	1	----	1	102	26.8	32	7.3
8 other States	----	----	----	1,193	35.5	----	----

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[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census: *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*, General Population Characteristics, Final Report PC (1) A and B, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1961.

[2] Excludes rural children who are seen in urban clinics.

[3] Estimated figures for clinics in some States.

[4] Excludes Alaska and Hawaii.

The rural clinics serving children and youth provided a total of 3,300 professional man-hours of service per week. This represented only 1.5 percent of all clinic man-hours (214,000) for children and youth, a smaller proportion than the proportion of rural clinics (4 percent). This is explained by the fact that more of the rural clinics were operated on a part-time basis and had smaller staffs than urban clinics.

In those clinics which served parents or other adults as well as children, an estimate can be made of the man-hours devoted to children, based on the proportion of reported patients under 18 years of age. Thus, only an estimated 1,700 man-hours of clinic service per week were devoted exclusively to children in rural clinics in 1961.

Most (29) of the rural clinics serving children and youth were located in the Northeast, 21 of them in New York State (table 2). The South had the greatest number of rural children, but ranked second in the number of rural clinics; half of these clinics were concentrated in one State, Maryland. The North Central Region, second in number of rural children, had the smallest number of rural clinics. Only 15 States had one or more rural clinics; the 36 States without rural clinics had 65 percent of the rural children.

Another way of evaluating the geographic distribution of clinics is by the percent of counties and "places" with clinics. Of the 3,000 counties in the United States, four-fifths were without clinics. Most of these were also without any large urban place. Therefore, they were unlikely to have some other type of mental health facility.

Less than 1 percent of rural places had a clinic as compared to 6 percent of small urban places and 54 percent of large urban places. Thirty-one of the rural clinics were located in areas too sparsely populated to be classified as a place.

In appraising the availability of mental health resources to rural children, it must be borne in mind that clinics located in urban areas may serve the surrounding rural population. Unfortunately, it was not practi-

TABLE 3. Percent of Places Having One or More Outpatient Psychiatric Clinics, 1961

Size of place or area (1960 population)	Places	
	Total number	Percent having one or more clinics [1]
Total United States	19,790	3.9
Large urban:	765	54.0
Places of 100,000 or more	132	99.2
Places of 50,000–100,000	201	59.2
Places of 25,000–50,000	432	37.7
Small urban:	5,276	6.3
Places of 10,000–25,000	1,134	16.4
Places of 5,000–10,000	1,394	7.3
Places of 2,500–5,000	2,152	1.9
Places under 2,500	596	.2
Rural:	13,749	.2
Places of 1,000–2,500	4,151	.5
Places under 1,000	9,598	.1

[1] Includes 352 clinics which serve adults only. Excludes 19 urban clinics and 31 rural clinics located in areas not classified as a "place."

cable to measure the extent to which urban facilities are geographically or otherwise accessible to rural children. Some clue as to proximity to an urban facility can be obtained, however, by consideration of whether or not the rural area was in a standard metropolitan area. For example, 19 of the 50 clinics in this study were located in rural areas that were within standard metropolitan areas and 31 were in nonmetropolitan areas (table 2). In standard metropolitan areas, there may be other mental health resources accessible to the rural child, particularly in the central city or fringe area. In a nonmetropolitan area, however, the clinic is likely to be the only mental health resource available within reasonable traveling distance.

Other data indicate that admission rates to mental health clinics are considerably lower for rural than for urban children (4, 6).

Characteristics of Rural Mental Health Clinics

Administration of rural clinics for children was largely the responsibility of State agencies and institutions; 26 out of the 60 facilities were State operated, 19 of them by State mental hospitals. Similarly about half of the clinics in small urban areas, but only one-fourth of those in large urban areas, were State operated. While over two-thirds of the clinics in the large urban areas were under the auspices of nongovernmental agencies or were independent, only one-third of the clinics in rural and small urban areas were so operated.

Nearly all of the rural clinics reported direct service to patients as their principal function and mental health consultation to other agencies or professionals as their second ranking function (8). Other community-oriented services, such as community planning and public education, and training of mental health professionals were minor functions for a third of the clinics. Only seven rural clinics reported research as a

TABLE 4. Auspices of Outpatient Psychiatric Clinics Serving Children and Youth, by Clinic Location, 1961

Clinic location	Total	State		Local health departments	Other hospitals	Other (schools, courts, etc.)	Independent facilities
		Mental hospitals	Other agencies or institutions				
Number of clinics	1,185	174	216	121	165	243	266
Rural	50	19	7	8	6	6	4
Small urban	354	80	102	48	16	41	67
Large urban	781	75	107	65	143	196	195
Percent of clinics	100.0	14.7	18.2	10.2	13.9	20.5	22.4
Rural	100.0	38.0	14.0	16.0	12.0	12.0	8.0
Small urban	100.0	22.6	28.8	13.6	4.5	11.6	18.9
Large urban	100.0	9.6	13.7	8.3	18.3	25.1	25.0

TABLE 5. Special Group Served in Outpatient Psychiatric Clinics Serving Children and Youth, by Clinic Location, 1961

Clinic location	Total	No special group served	Service restricted to a special group			
			Mentally retarded	Ex-mental hospital patients	Court	Other
Number of clinics	1,185	1,087	21	57	10	10
Rural	50	43	3	3		1
Small urban	354	329	3	22		
Large urban	781	715	15	32	10	9
Percent of clinics	100.0	91.7	1.8	4.8	0.8	0.8
Rural	100.0	86.0	6.0	6.0		2.0
Small urban	100.0	92.9	.8	6.2		
Large urban	100.0	91.5	1.9	4.1	1.3	1.2

function. Research and/or training were considered as a primary function in considerably more of the large urban area clinics.

As in urban areas, most rural clinics were open to all children and youth; only 10 percent were restricted to such special groups as the mentally retarded. In the large urban areas, because of the greater diversity of auspices, there was a wider variety of special groups such as juvenile court cases or schizophrenic children, to whom services were restricted.

Clinic Staff and Man-Hours

The full orthopsychiatric team of psychiatrist, clinical psychologist, and psychiatric social worker was found in only 60 percent of the rural and small urban area clinics compared to 80 percent of the large urban area clinics. Eleven rural clinics had a psychiatrist and one other team member; four had an unfilled psychiatrist position.

Professionals such as other physicians, nurses, therapists, technicians, and educational staff were utilized mainly in the urban clinics. Less than 15 percent of the clinics in rural and small urban areas had trainees on the staff, in contrast to 40 percent of the clinics in large urban areas.

All but two of the rural clinics had a psychiatrist or other physician as director. Psychologists, social workers, nurses, and clinic administrators were employed as directors in a higher proportion of urban clinics.

Clinics in rural areas had less frequent scheduled service than urban clinics. Only one-third of the rural clinics were full-time (i.e., open 35 hours or more per week) as compared with one-half of the clinics in small urban areas and four-fifths in large urban areas. One-fourth of the clinics in rural and small urban areas as contrasted with only 3 percent in large urban areas were open less frequently than once a week.

Table 6. Staffing Pattern of Outpatient Psychiatric Clinics Serving Children and Youth, by Clinic Location, 1961

Clinic location	Total	Staffing pattern					
		Psychiatrist, clinical psychologist, psychiatric social worker [1]	Psychiatrist and clinical psychologist [1]	Psychiatrist and psychiatric social worker [1]	Psychiatrist and "other" staff	Psychiatrist only	Psychiatrist position unfilled
Number of clinics	1,185	867	64	172	3	55	24
Rural	50	31	4	7	-----------	4	4
Small urban	354	216	29	75	-----------	21	13
Large urban	781	620	31	90	3	30	7
Percent of clinics	100.0	73.2	5.4	14.5	0.3	4.6	2.0
Rural	100.0	62.0	8.0	14.0	-----------	8.0	8.0
Small urban	100.0	61.0	8.2	21.2	-----------	5.9	3.7
Large urban	100.0	79.4	4.0	11.5	.4	3.8	.9

[1] With or without "other" staff, such as medical personnel, nurses, therapists, and technicians.

The average number of professional man-hours of service per week for rural clinics was 34 and for clinics in the small urban area, 43. In contrast, the large urban area clinic provided an average of 149 man-hours of service per week.

Children Under Care in Rural Clinics

Because of the relatively few man-hours of service provided by the rural clinic, the average caseload for the year was small. An average of 89 patients was seen during 1961 in each rural clinic and 103 in each small urban area clinic; for large urban areas, the average annual caseload was 239.

A total of 4,400 children and youth were served in the 50 rural clinics during 1961 (table 2), only 2 percent of all clinic patients under 18 years served in the United States. Excluded from the count of rural clinic patients were rural children seen in urban clinics; the number of such children cannot be estimated at present for the total United States.

Other studies have shown that the most frequent source of referral to rural clinics is the school and that rural clinic service tends to be brief, often consisting of psychological evaluation only (2). The rural clinic has a relatively large caseload of mental deficients in contrast to other clinics which see relatively more children with adjustment reactions. This reflects the use of the rural mental health clinic for school psychological and other diagnostic services because of the lack of other community resources.

Half of both the rural and urban clinics had waiting lists, for intake, diagnosis, or treatment, as of April 30, 1963. Of the 413 children on

TABLE 7. Clinic Schedule of Outpatient Psychiatric Clinics Serving Children and Youth, by Clinic Location, 1961

Clinic location	Total	Full-time (35 hours or more per week)	Part-time (less than 35 hours per week)	Weekly		Not weekly		
				4 to 7 days a week	Less than 4 days a week or by appointment	At least once a month	Less than once a month	Appointment only
Number of clinics	1,185	825	360	862	206	95	9	13
Rural	50	17	33	19	18	10	....	3
Small urban	354	184	170	195	83	59	8	9
Large urban	781	624	157	648	105	26	1	1
Percent of clinics	100.0	69.6	30.4	72.7	17.4	8.0	0.8	1.1
Rural	100.0	34.0	66.0	38.0	36.0	20.0	....	6.0
Small urban	100.0	52.0	48.0	55.1	23.4	16.7	2.3	2.5
Large urban	100.0	79.9	20.1	83.0	13.4	3.3	.1	.1

waiting lists of rural clinics, one-third were reported by New York clinics. The South had the smallest number of children waiting for service (8). The data do not reflect the kinds of patients served in these facilities.

Future Directions

There is no doubt that inaccessibility to mental health resources is a major problem for rural children. Hopefully, the recent interest in the planning for, and provision of, comprehensive mental health care will stimulate augmented services for rural children.

For such planning, detailed studies of patient characteristics and services for children in rural and urban areas in each State will be necessary. Further study is also needed on the ways of providing effective mental health service in sparsely populated areas. Possible avenues for exploration are: the relative advantages and disadvantages of a travelling team compared with a stationary clinic, such as a multicounty mental health center; the ways of attracting highly trained psychiatric professionals to the small community and the increasing use of the visiting public health nurse and the rural physician for the provision of mental health services (1).

Another approach to providing mental health services for rural areas is built around consultation services of a full-time, locally based professional resource person. Such a program was begun in New Mexico in 1959 and has since become a well-accepted pattern of developing services in underdeveloped areas. It was supported by a combination of Federal, State, and local funds. A Mental Health Project Grant (MH 286) from the National Institute of Mental Health provided most of the initial support for the 4-year demonstration project. The approach has been continued to this day, and most of the local programs developed by the district consultants have been elaborated and expanded.

MENTAL HEALTH CONSULTATION SERVICES FOR RURAL NEW MEXICO

The district mental health consultant serves a multicounty area and provides case consultation to local health, welfare, education, and law enforcement agencies and to practitioners in medicine, law, and the clergy. Consultants also serve as information-education resources; they conduct in-service training for agencies, organizations, and practitioners involved in handling mental health problems. They assist their communities in expanding or improving those facilities conducive to preventing and dealing with mental health problems. A district consultant may be a psychologist, a social worker, or a mental health nurse consultant. To supplement the full-time services of the district consultant, part-time psychiatric consultation is utilized on a regular basis. Counties served by this approach are quite distant from the State's professional mental health facilities and have no local practitioners or agencies in any mental health field.

The district consultation service is not a clinical facility; its aim is to provide expert mental health consultation to ongoing community services, conduct public and professional education, and help the community organize mental health services according to its needs, resources, and unique cultural patterns. This approach is analogous to the philosophy of the *county agent* in the field of agriculture.

Among the many specific projects of benefit to children which were initiated through the stimulation of the district mental health consultants have been:

- a day school for retarded children,
- a mental health *checkup* project for second grade children,
- a family casework agency,
- a day center for emotionally disturbed children,
- a training and consultation service to an orphanage,
- a training and consultation service to school teachers,
- the selection and training of nonprofessional community project leaders and volunteers for work in a comprehensive local mental health program,
- formation of parents' organizations for retarded and emotionally disturbed children,
- formation of citizens' organizations for planning and supporting local mental health services,
- organization of *case panels* to assemble all relevant expertise around an individual or family mental health problem, for planning and coordinating a unified program of early detection and community management, using existing local resources.

The Las Cruces Project

The first project focused on training nonprofessional community project leaders and originated in Las Cruces, New Mexico, a setting which presents many typical problems of a small city in transition (it has grown from approximately 8,000 population after World War II to over 35,000 in 1962). Until the Community Mental Health Consultant was assigned to the County Health Department late in 1959, it had no one who was exclusively concerned with the mental health needs of the population. It had no private practitioners in the fields of psychiatry or psychology. There had been many attempts to recruit qualified personnel in these specialties around whom Las Cruces might mobilize and build programs. All attempts were unsuccessful. The project placed a mental health consultant in the community to explore the effectiveness of specific methods of selecting, assigning, training, and giving consultation to nonprofessional mental health workers so they and other members of the community could revise existing resources and develop new hometown programs, activities, and services related to mental health needs.

Las Cruces has the first three trainee-workers, a coordinator of services and personnel for a day care center for emotionally disturbed children, an executive secretary for a local mental health sponsoring agency, and a youth-work coordinator to develop a preventive program for children in conflict. In the second year and each year thereafter through the fourth year of the project, additional trainees will be added.

Community service projects are based on certain considerations such as need, community appeal, sponsorship, potential for success, strengthening existing organizations, etc. Trainees, also selected according to certain criteria, are assigned to these service projects. Total staff includes a director (mental health nurse, 80 percent of whose time will be on this project), a co-director (consultant public health psychiatrist, 20 percent time on this project), a program analyst (borrowed from New Mexico State University, 20 percent time), a coordinator (nonmental health professional, 100 percent time), and an executive secretary (also nonmental health professional, 100 percent time). In addition to its potential contribution to new methods of coping with the critical manpower situation, the local planning and participation skills of this community will be highly sharpened.

The Rural Project

The second project originated in the eastern part of New Mexico on the west Texas border and is 100 miles on the Texas side and 200 miles on the New Mexico side from any specialized resources. The project is based in Eastern New Mexico University which has an enrollment of 2,200 students. This program concentrates on providing workable services to very small, widely separated communities. For coping with a variety of emotional problems, techniques designed by a university-community-State agency triad will be developed and evaluated. This project combines the consultant format (i.e., field consultant) with an interdisciplinary specialized nucleus team approach but concentrates on field methods rather than clinical procedures.

The consultant must play many roles that constantly shift without advance notice as he attempts to relate to the total community. Such consultants are more thoroughly ego-engaged, more visible as individuals, and more acutely reactive to the joys and sorrows of program vicissitudes than most professionals experience in the more insulated institutional environments in which they were trained.

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PART IV

Prevention and Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency in Rural Areas

Chapter 15

An Exploration of Rural Juvenile Delinquency[1]

By Kenneth Polk, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Oregon

The purpose of this paper is to explore the problem of juvenile delinquency in rural areas. Viewed from any direction, the study of juvenile delinquency is complicated. Not the least of the complications is the difficulty in establishing some definition of the relevant terms. "Juvenile delinquency" will refer in these sections to youth who have engaged in some behavior which has resulted in their being processed by juvenile authorities. This definition of delinquency has two major components: (a) Action on the part of a youngster, and (b) action by juvenile authorities with respect to the given youth. Comparisons of rural delinquency with urban delinquency, as well as comparisons among rural areas, require that attention be given both to differential commission of acts on the part of youngsters, and differential recognition and disposition of such acts by juvenile authorities.

"Rural areas" are defined in a broad sense to include *hinterland areas;* small towns which are engaged in such extractive activities as mining, lumbering, fishing and similar industries will be considered "rural," as well as rural farm areas.

REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

What the Hinterland Youth is Like

While there have not been as many studies of hinterland delinquency as of urban delinquency, in the past few years a number of excellent studies have been made. These investigations have found several differences between rural and urban delinquent youth, especially with regard to the nature of the delinquent activity. Review of earlier research suggests that rural youth in general commit offenses of a less serious nature than their urban counterparts. In examination of the offense comparisons in one study (12), rural boys more often than urban boys were institutionalized for such offenses as nominal burglary and "general misconduct," but less often for the more serious offenses such as auto theft and serious burglary. Differences in sex offenses, theft and truancy between the two groups were not significant.

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[1] This study was supported by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in cooperation with the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

Not only are the acts less serious, but, as we might expect, one uniform finding is that delinquent youth from rural areas are much less sophisticated in their delinquencies than are the urban boys. Clinard (4) has found that rural offenders do not exhibit the characteristics of a definite criminal social type as defined by: (a) An early start in criminal behavior, (b) progressive knowledge of criminal techniques and crime in general, (c) crime as the sole means of livelihood, and (d) a self-concept of being a criminal. Partial support for these findings is contained in the work of Lentz (12) who reports that rural offenders were less likely to be repeat offenders and that they displayed much less knowledge of criminal practices in the commission of their offense.

Among rural youth, the existence of a distinct criminal or delinquent subculture is reported only rarely. In his early study of rural criminal offenders, Clinard (3) finds a comparative absence of gangs in the life histories of his subjects; even where companions are noted, usually only two or three persons rather than a gang are involved. Lentz (12) reports that 52 percent of the rural boys compared with only 16 percent of urban boys in Wisconsin were lone offenders. Further, 22 percent of rural boys compared with 87 percent of urban boys were members of gangs which were known to be composed of delinquent boys.

Clinard emphasizes the role of the criminal culture in the explanation of rural crime and delinquency:

> A characteristic of the rural offenders was that they did not regard their actions as crimes or themselves as criminals. It is obvious that this is very significant in accounting for the differences in crime rate between areas of varying degrees of urbanization. The life histories seemed to substantiate a hypothesis that this noncriminal conception of self is an outgrowth of a limited process of urbanization. To develop a criminal social type there must be in existence some organized criminal culture which is at least tolerated in the area and through which deviant norms are transmitted. Criminal techniques, argot, and progressive association with others having criminal associations are necessary for a criminal career; and without their presence an offender may commit a crime in the legal sense without being a criminal in a sociological sense. The division of labor and heterogeneity of standards of an urban world make possible the existence of a criminal culture independent of the traditional culture. Where there exist the opposite characteristics of urbanization, such as general homogeneity of culture and more general personal behavior, it is difficult to identify one's self with a criminal world. Rural offenders are not criminal social types, owing to the

> fact that in areas of limited urbanization there have been few opportunities to become identified with a separate criminal culture (3, p. 211).

While there may not be a "professional" criminal culture, there may exist a "troublemaking" culture among hinterland youth that corresponds closely to what has been called the "parent delinquent subculture." Empey describes this pattern in a hinterland community in Utah:

> Despite the fact that Utah County is not a highly urbanized area when compared to large metropolitan centers, the concept of a "parent" delinquent subculture has real meaning for it. While there are no clear-cut gangs, *per se*, it is surprising to observe the extent to which delinquent boys from the entire county, who have never met, know each other by reputation, go with the same girls, use the same language, or can seek each other out when they change high schools. About half of them are permanently out of school, do not participate in any regular institutional activities, are reliant almost entirely upon the delinquent system for social acceptance and participation (7, p. 685).

Some further insight into the nature of rural delinquency can be found in the important study conducted by John Clark and Eugene P. Wenninger (2) of the University of Illinois who used a "self-report" method to trace patterns of delinquent behavior in four kinds of settings. This investigation is useful because it permits us to make comparisons between a small "industrial city" group of adolescents, an urban working class group, an urban upper class group, and a group of rural-farm adolescents. In each case, public school youth were asked to report their commission of certain acts in a self-administered, anonymous questionnaire. At least for the groups studied by Clark and Wenninger, the response to this questionnaire would indicate that rural boys differ very little from urban boys in the extent to which they "confess" to minor theft, the telling of lies, loitering, beating up other youngsters without specific reason, the use of narcotics (in all samples rare), and arson (also rare in all groups). [illegible] contrast, rural-farm youth engage less, according to this study, in such activities as major theft, the consumption of alcohol, taking money on the pretense that it would be repaid, and skipping school. On the other hand, rural youth were inclined to engage somewhat more in trespassing and tampering with another person's car, tractor, or bicycle without permission. These differences are especially pronounced when a comparison is made between the urban working class group and rural youth.

To summarize, a number of earlier studies show that the delinquency of rural youth is less sophisticated than that of their urban counterparts. Not only are their acts of a less serious nature, but they are less often involved with a criminal culture. At the same time, there is some evidence for a subcultural base to some hinterland delinquency.

How the Rural Offender is Handled

Delinquency occurs when a youth commits some act which, if both youth and act are known, the community takes formal action on. Differential handling of rural offenders in rural areas stems from four major sources: (a) Differences in the kinds of behaviors engaged in by youth; (b) differential definitions as to what constitutes a delinquent act, that is, the norms defining what is delinquent are different; (c) differences in the way that communities think the problem should be handled; and (d) differences in the exercise of official control by juvenile authorities (rural jurisdictions typically have too few men, and these few men have less than adequate training). These factors taken together produce the phenomenon of delinquency, and each is an important ingredient of the problem.

There is no question that rural youth, however troublesome, do not exhibit the same kinds of problem behavior as are found in the metropolitan centers. The use of narcotics is virtually nonexistent and, as indicated above, "professional" criminal activity among youth is quite rare. Accordingly, one large component of the "different" nature of rural delinquency has to do with the fact that hinterland youngsters engage in different kinds of behavior.

This fact alone, however, does not tell the whole story since it does not account for variations between kinds of rural areas, or even within one given rural area. It is here that we must consider what the community defines as delinquent, and what procedures are regarded as proper for dealing with the problem. An example of such differentials within one community are reported in Hollingshead's study of Elmtown:

> The nightly search for excitement by speeding, shooting firearms along the river roads, drinking, picking up girls, gambling, with now and again a fight, brings many of these young people face-to-face with the law. Pleasure-bent youth violate the mores, if not the law, almost every night, but they are not overly interested in the consequences of their acts. Actually, they seldom think about this aspect of their behavior until they find themselves in trouble. This does not occur often, for they seldom commit offenses serious enough to bring them to the attention of the police or the sheriff. When they do, the differences which adults attach to the roles played by the withdrawees in comparison with high school students become clear. The police, and adults in general, assume that parents, often the school, are to blame when a student is apprehended for violation of the law. However, when a withdrawee of the same age commits an offense of the same nature officials hold him responsible. The deliberate protection-of-the-pupil policy which fails to place responsibility on the student who violates the law, in contrast to the application of adult judgments to the withdrawee, before he has developed a sense of personal responsibility for his behavior, results

in a very much higher incidence of official delinquency in the out-of-school series than in the in-school one (10, p. 410).

The same differential processes serve to complicate urban-rural comparisons of delinquency. It takes little imagination to think of the consequences that would occur in a large metropolitan area if a lower class slum dweller who was under the influence of alcohol should smash into a showpiece upper class estate in his car, and then pass out on the lawn. Hopper has described an instance where this occurred in a small, homogeneous, rural community:

> Mrs. Gunderson lives at the edge of town. She has what is conceded to be one of the "showplaces" of Bethel County. Frank and Charley Baker, two old bachelor brothers, live in a little shack 4 miles down the same road away from town. Frank and Charley don't come into town very often, but when they do, they usually take a little too much in the way of alcoholic refreshment. When they do this, the sheriff usually lets them sleep it off in the county jail. Saturday afternoon, however, he failed to notice them and they started home in their old rattletrap, loaded. They were on the straight stretch of road just in front of Mrs. Gunderson's when something went wrong with their calculations. They drove up in her front yard, after tearing down a picket fence, parked against a tree, and both of them passed out. All of this in the front yard of one of Bethel County's elite. Almost any place else, this is enough to mean the State Farm at the very least. Not to Mrs. Gunderson, however; she and one of the hired men brought Frank and Charley into the house, partially sobered them up with coffee, fed them, took them home, put them to bed and towed home the car (11, pp. 33–34).

Hopper (11) suggests that as the rural communities become less homogeneous as a result of expanding urbanism, instability in social class systems becomes more pronounced, increasing the tendency for deviants to be handled formally rather than informally. Thus, the extent of such instability may account for different patterns of disposition between rural areas.

Adams (1) has pointed out another example of differential control mechanisms operating in rural areas. As a result of his investigation of girls sent to the Training School in Colorado, he suggests that there are closer and stronger controls placed upon the sexual conduct of girls in small communities than in larger, more impersonal urban areas. It appears that in the rural community the sexual acting-out of girls is met with stronger sanctions, perhaps because the acts of the girls are felt to be more of an offense against morality than are the acts of boys.

The extent of the given behavior (sex offense) may be the same as in the urban areas, but the norms differ such that this is defined as a problem of concern, and girls are consequently dealt with more severely. It is significant that in the Adams' study, more girls were sent to the State

Training School from rural areas, whereas just the opposite was the case for males.

A final factor in the handling of delinquent youth is the exercise of official control by juvenile authorities. The delinquency rate in one region of Lane County was reduced to almost nothing recently by the simple act of removing the resident deputy sheriff. This incident shows the impact that differential law enforcement can have on the recorded delinquency of a given area. The training background of the typical rural law enforcement official also will produce differentials in the kinds of delinquency that are recorded.

The law enforcement officer is a vital link in the process that produces delinquency, since it is his action that gives rise to the official label of "juvenile delinquent." Accordingly, the "discretion" he applies in deciding what offenders receive official attention is important in understanding the nature of delinquency in the hinterland. Esselstyn has made a study of this process in his analysis of the role of the rural county sheriff:

> . . . What of offenses not known? Informants who had reported offenses were interviewed and in almost every case they disclosed other offenses which they had not reported. As a general practice, the rule of silence is invoked in four circumstances: where the theft or offense "didn't amount to much," or where it was felt that a report "won't do any good"; where the threat of a report is countered by an apology, an offer of marriage, or restitution; where there is fear of reprisal, real or imagined; and where a report might threaten community harmony. This last involves extreme cases such as unexplained deaths, suspected incest, fires or explosions of unknown origin, and the like. It is impossible to get specific facts in these instances. However, accounts of these events are transmitted to the young and to the objective investigator and a context designed to show the limits beyond which it is regarded as unwise to resort to formal legal sanctions—unwise because it is felt that ultimate justice has or will be done, or because of the fear that group life will be shattered if neighbor must testify against neighbor (8, p. 182).

In summary, rural areas may have a different picture of recorded delinquency as a result of differentials in the way juvenile delinquencies are handled. While these differentials primarily are a function of the norms of the community which define delinquency and which specify how it is to be treated, they also are accounted for by the differential nature of the problem itself and of the differentials in the structure of juvenile agencies in rural areas.

THE LANE COUNTY YOUTH STUDY PROJECT

The original data for this report are drawn from a study in Lane County, Oregon. Lane County is a hinterland area of western Oregon, located midway between the Columbia River and the California State line. It runs 120 miles from the Pacific Ocean on the west, crosses the low, wood-covered Coast Range, spans the upper end of the fertile Willamette Valley, and extends to the summit of the rugged, heavily forested Cascade Range. In this area, roughly the size of Connecticut, the 1960 population was approximately 160,000, about 60 percent of whom lived in the major trade center of the adjacent cities of Eugene and Springfield. Employment is concentrated in agriculture, wood and wood products, transportation, wholesale trade, and educational services. The study partly focuses upon youth problems in the whole county; otherwise specific attention is given to youth in three types of communities: (a) rural-farm, (b) rural-nonfarm (lumbering), and (c) the area within the small city complex.

In the process of developing a large-scale program of delinquency prevention and control, data have been collected from these major sources: (a) a questionnaire survey of all adolescents in the three demonstration area high schools (including a survey of school records); (b) an interview survey with a small number of school withdrawees, both delinquent and nondelinquent; (c) an interview survey of adults in each of the demonstration area communities; (d) a depth interview of 5 hours' duration with a small number of families of both delinquent and nondelinquent youth in each of the demonstration areas; and (e) a records survey of official delinquency which included a records analysis of Juvenile Department (probation department) cases from 1959 through 1962, a depth case analysis of 25 percent of these cases, an analysis of the extent to which Juvenile Department cases (or their families) are reported to other agencies such as Public Welfare, District Attorney, Adult Probation and Parole, and the Employment Service (for unemployment benefits), and a survey of the juvenile index of police contacts with juveniles in the County, maintained by the Lane County Sheriff's Office, for the years 1959 through 1962.

PERCEPTION OF A PROBLEM: OFFICIAL DELINQUENCY

When a community decides that it is not willing to tolerate or informally dispose of deviant behavior, it faces the task of officially identifying the delinquent and providing a label for the forbidden activity. The utility of official records lies in their availability for a study of the process of labeling and disposing of undesired behavior. Such records provide a useful document as to what the community thinks is a problem for official attention and how these official problems are processed. They are only secondarily useful in the investigation of the extent of any given behavior in the community, since differential tolerance and informal disposition distort assessment of the behavior presented by official records. Nonetheless, there are some instances where a comparison of types of offenses between jurisdictions reveals actual differentials in the behavior of youth.

A survey of Lane County Juvenile Department records shows that, in comparison with other areas, minor "troublesome" offenses more often provide the label for official action (these offenses include truancy, running away, being ungovernable, and "other" offenses). In each of the 4 years (1959 through 1962) studied, for both males and females, over half of the referrals fell into this category. The commission (and reporting) of dangerous bodily harm offenses is virtually nonexistent in this hinterland community, and the incidence of burglary and auto theft is lower than in large metropolitan areas.

HANDLING OF A PROBLEM: OFFICIAL DISPOSITION

Hinterland areas differ not only in terms of what behaviors come to be labeled "delinquencies," but also with regard to how such labeling takes place and what disposition is made of the cases. One example of such a differential in Lane County has to do with who refers the youngster to the juvenile authorities. As in most jurisdictions, the greatest percentage of referrals in Lane County is made by police agencies, but a surprising proportion of cases (especially those involving females) are referred by the parents themselves.

Once cases are referred, over half of the male referrals are disposed of by closing the case at intake. In each of the 4 years studied, a lower proportion of female cases was closed at intake, but even here at least one-third of the female referrals in any given year were handled in this fashion. Furthermore, few of these young people are sent to the State institutions. In no year were more than 5 percent institutionalized, and the yearly percentage typically is between 1 and 2 percent (compared with the 10-percent rate common in metropolitan juvenile probation departments).

The Lane County data are consistent with the findings of other studies which show that, by and large, hinterland youth are charged more often with the minor but troublesome offenses, and are officially handled in a more lenient fashion than one would find in the courts of a large metropolitan center.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TROUBLESOME YOUTH

In the previous section we have examined the question of what the community considers to be delinquent acts, and how it behaves once it labels such acts as delinquent. Now we examine characteristics of individuals who commit such acts. In the analysis of this problem, we draw upon information not only from the records of the juvenile authorities, but also from survey responses of high school youth and withdrawees. Because data are not available for the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm youth at this time, the analysis is restricted to male youth in the small city complex.

There appears a dominant economic theme in the delinquency and school withdrawal of these hinterland youth. While 57 percent of the in-school nondelinquent youth in the small urban area had "white-collar" fathers, only 45 percent of the in-school delinquent youth, 31 percent of the dropout nondelinquents and virtually none of the dropout delinquents had fathers engaged in white-collar work. In addition, while 74 percent of the fathers of in-school nondelinquent youth had a high school education or better, only 59 percent of the in-school delinquents, 12 percent of the dropout nondelinquents, and 4 percent of the dropout delinquents had fathers with at least 12 years of education.

Not only are the "trouble-prone" youth more frequently found at the lower end of these traditional economic measures, they are also more

Table 1. Percentages for In-School Nondelinquent, In-School Delinquent, Out-of-School Nondelinquent, and Out-of-School Delinquent Male Youth in the Small City Area Among Selected Economic, Alienation, Subcultural, and Family Variables

Variable	In-school non-delinquent (N=665)	In-school delinquent (N=93)	Out-of-school non-delinquent (N=26)	Out-of-school delinquent (N=27)
Fathers in white-collar occupations	57	45	31	4
Fathers having at least 12 years of education	74	59	12	4
Agree that opportunity for advancement "not very good"	10	23	54	37
Agree that the local public school system is "very good"	54	42	19	18
Agree that their high school is an excellent high school to attend	56	42	19	7
Agree that "school is dull and boring"	27	41	62	67
Disagree that a boy is delinquent when he habitually skips school	22	25	37	46
In college preparatory classes	52	29	4	4
Prefer "solid" subjects (science, math, social science, English)	52	35	35	37
Participated in one or more school organizations	53	25	39	22
Believe that "high grades" are an important determinant of status among males	51	40	46	22
Most frequent or modal grade of "C," "D," or "F"	60	82	----------	----------
Perceived by teachers as potential school dropouts	9	18	----------	----------
Perceived by teachers as potential school behavior problems	3	14	----------	----------
Characterized by high degree of seriousness of purpose	26	16	----------	----------
Characterized by high degree of "industry"	28	12	----------	----------
Characterized by high degree of initiative	25	9	----------	----------
Characterized by high degree of relations toward others	20	9	----------	----------
Characterized by high degree of responsibility	26	12	----------	----------
Characterized by high degree of emotional stability	28	12	----------	----------
Friends have been in trouble with the police	50	83	81	74
Believe that "stirring up a little excitement" is an important determinant of status among males	53	58	62	67
Spend two or more evenings per week with friends	44	67	63	74
Spend two or more evenings per week at home with the family	87	81	70	74
Spend no spare time at all during the week with their father	16	20	31	26
Natural family is not intact	18	28	30	45

likely to think that opportunity for advancement is "not very good." Furthermore, other data show that these youngsters are economically vulnerable once they drop out of school since, at the time of the survey, 38 percent of the dropout male population was unemployed, and those who were employed generally were in low income, low status positions.

Closely related to the economic component is a clear alienation theme found in the responses of the trouble-prone youth. These young people appear to be alienated from both community and school. The out-of-school youth are less likely to rate the local public school system as "very good," and are less likely to say that theirs was an excellent high school. Additionally, the trouble-prone are more likely to agree with the statement that "school is dull and boring," and are more likely to disagree that the person who habitually skips school is a delinquent.

Trouble-prone youth are less likely to be enrolled in college preparatory classes, and do not show as great a preference for "solid" subjects in school. Moreover, these young persons are less likely to participate in school organizations. To show their rejection of values held by the "normal" nondelinquent youths, the trouble-prone person is less likely to agree that high grades are status-conferring among males.

Rejection usually occurs through interaction in school as well. Although records are not available for the out-of-school youth, among the in-school youth the delinquents are more likely to: have lower grades, be seen by their teachers as currently or potentially being behavior problems, and be rated low on personal characteristics checklists (including "emotional stability," "seriousness of purpose," "industrious," etc.). These results indicate that alienation is a two-way street, involving not only the alienation on the part of the youth, but a symmetrical rejection of the youth by the school and community, suggesting that programs of delinquency prevention and control should be concerned with both components of this rejection process.

These findings, on the surface, are not consistent with some recent findings regarding the class background of delinquent youth. Several recent studies (6, 13) using the anonymous questionnaires in which high school youth are asked to give "self-report" about their commission of delinquent acts, have failed to establish any relationship between social class and delinquency in rural areas or in small towns. On the other hand, a recent comprehensive study (9) confirmed the previous generalization that delinquent youth are predominantly from lower class backgrounds.

These two sets of findings are not actually inconsistent; they deal with different things. Self-report data include only the commission of acts, not the reaction of the community or its agents to these acts. This limitation, of course, has been noted by users of the technique (6). Since self-report data do not include community reaction (or the presumed reaction on the part of the youth), they must be considered as pertaining to a different body of information. Cloward and Ohlin (5) have expressed it this way: An important ingredient in defining the nature or interpretation of a deviant act is the offender's perception of the probable reaction to his act. Acts which are behaviorally identical but have different presumed reactions must be interpreted in different ways.

The concept of "delinquency" is inexorably bound up with the community's reaction to deviant behavior. Because the social class background of youth is intimately related to the willingness of a community to tolerate delinquency, it is important to the discussion of the nature of delinquency itself. Findings which show that delinquency and school withdrawal are closely related to economic and alienation themes are congruent with the operation of the class system in the hinterland community.

There is some evidence supporting ~~a~~ subcultural theme of delinquency. While there are no "gangs" as we use the term to apply to the group behavior of metropolitan slum delinquents, some commonly held norms and common patterns of behavior differentiate delinquents from nondelinquents. Trouble-prone youth are much more likely to indicate friendship with youth who have "been in trouble with the police." They are more likely to think that "stirring up a little excitement" is status-conferring among males, and they are likely to spend more evenings with friends than with their family or in organized activities. Furthermore, data from the Juvenile Department show that among males in a typical year, around three-fourths of the referrals will include a companion who was involved in the offense. Each of these pieces of information supports the notion that there is an important social context of delinquency in the hinterland. The social context is dominated by components of a male subculture, and delinquency in Lane County is predominantly a male phenomenon.

There is an additional family theme found in these data. Trouble-prone youth come less often from homes where both natural parents are living together. Additionally, these boys are less likely to spend their evenings with their families, and are less likely to spend spare time with their fathers.

In summary, the trouble-prone males in the small urban area of this hinterland County exhibit behavior marked by economic, alienation, subcultural, and familial themes. The economic-alienation dimensions produced consistent and important differences between delinquents and nondelinquents. Some evidence suggests there is a subcultural base of this troublesome behavior and that family status is related to the delinquency-producing process.

THE COMMUNITY CONTEXT OF DELINQUENCY

Prior sections dealt either with the young persons or with the juvenile authorities. Limited data available from the community surveys suggest some ideas about the community context within which delinquency occurs.

First, adults who are not parents of adolescents and adolescents themselves perceive delinquent behavior differently than do parents of adolescent children and "other" adults. By and large, parents are more tolerant than nonparents; the parents are less likely to label a given act "delinquent." In the "minor" offenses such as "truancy," "breaks a window," or "runs away," adults are less willing to call the act delinquent than are adolescents. On the other hand, adolescents are less likely than adults to consider "running with a gang" or "drinking" as delinquent acts.

Second, adults and adolescents do not agree on the causes of delinquent behavior; each blames its own group. Thus, adolescents are more likely to say that the youngster himself should get the blame, whereas parents are more likely to place the blame on parents.

Third, the largest proportions of both youth and adults believe that the youth who repeatedly breaks the law should be turned over to a professsional agency. A major difference between these groups occurred in the second choice. A greater proportion of the youth said that the youngster should be turned over to his family, whereas adults were not at all optimistic about the family and, instead, recommended professional treatment.

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Chapter 16

Combating Juvenile Delinquency in Rural Areas

Prepared by Catherine Harris, Information Specialist, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Based on

Development of Juvenile Court Systems in Rural Areas
Joseph B. Felton, LL.B., Circuit Court Judge, Third Judicial District of the State of Oregon, Department of Domestic Relations.

The Role of the Juvenile Court in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency
Vincent De Francis, LL.B., Director, Children's Division, The American Humane Association.

Development of Comprehensive Community Programs for Treatment and Rehabilitation of Delinquents in Rural Areas
Donald T. Anderson, LL.B., Educational Director, Children's Charter of the Juvenile Courts of Michigan, Inc.

The Planning of Comprehensive Programs for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency and Expansion of Youth Opportunity
Sanford L. Kravitz, Ph.D., formerly Program Coordinator, President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (now with the Office of Economic Opportunity).

As is true with so many other services, rural areas lack the variety of facilities to prevent and control juvenile delinquency which have been established in more densely populated sections of the country.

In 1960, in a report to Congress, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reported findings which have great import for rural areas:

- The rate of increase of delinquency in rural areas appeared to be even more rapid than in large urban areas.
- Multiple factors related to juvenile delinquency require well-coordinated approaches, using all resources.

- Present methods of delinquency treatment and rehabilitation are inadequate. Present services should be increased and new approaches must be tried.
- There is lack of coordination, shortages of personnel, and lack of financial resources.
- All agencies, public and private, which are responsible for dealing with delinquency must be strengthened in terms of organization, staff, and coordination of effort (3).

Private social agency services in rural areas are usually weak. Where they exist, professional staff is often lacking. The clubs, churches, and other voluntary groups which do exist and offer recreation programs, competitions and the like, generally do not attract potential delinquents and generally make no effort to attract them. Such voluntary efforts usually reach the youth who are least in need of special services.

Often the juvenile court is the focal point because there is seldom any organized group like a welfare planning council to stimulate planning for youth. Where the juvenile court, in conjuction with local and State resources, cannot develop the essential programs, it may be necessary to look to the Federal Government for aid in planning and carrying out programs to combat juvenile delinquency.

THE ROLE OF THE JUVENILE COURT

The Association of Juvenile Court Judges adopted a resolution which defined the court's responsibility as follows:

> . . . (The court) is not charged primarily with delinquency prevention activities, but the presence and prestige of the court act persuasively in this regard, and the educational work of the court, together with the activities of the court's probation staff, tend to exert preventive influences (1).

The juvenile court has grown out of the realization, beginning in the 19th century, that children should not be confined with adult criminals, that probation could be used instead of confinement. The basic concept is that child offenders should not be treated as criminals but as wards of the State for their own protection and the protection of society. This concept of individualized justice resulted in the first juvenile court in 1899. Even where there is no separate juvenile court, all States now incorporate the essential features in their court system—a separate hearing room, separate records, an informal procedure, and the elimination of most of the aspects of criminal procedure.

The juvenile court jurisdiction may rest in any type of court; the area of jurisdiction may be a city, a county, or even a State. The U.S. Children's Bureau, in conjunction with national organizations, has worked to develop uniform standards for juvenile court procedure. The Standard Juvenile Court Act, as it has developed and been revised, has led to some standardization in State laws and court procedures and provides a yardstick against which an individual court can measure its quality and effectiveness and upgrade its operations.

Ideally, a juvenile court should include the following components:

- a qualified judge, believing in the juvenile court philosophy, understanding the needs of children, and providing imaginative and effective community leadership;
- adequate physical facilities to allow for a hearing room, efficient clerical and staff operation, privacy, and confidentiality of records;
- a trained probation staff which receives continuing in-service training;
- efficient administration;
- fully developed and recorded intake policies;
- community support, using the resources of a citizens' advisory council;
- adequate facilities: detention care, foster homes for the neglected and dependent, psychological and psychiatric services or access thereto, institutional facilities, resources for special treatment of defective or disturbed youth who cannot or should not be placed on probation.

In reality, few juvenile courts, whether rural or urban, measure up on all counts.

In rural areas, where children constitute only a small portion of court cases, the court becomes a juvenile court only when a child is referred. The judge usually has no special training and may, in some instances, not even have legal training.

The physical facilities are generally inadequate. In small communities, the confidentiality of records is not always observed.

Less than half of all of the 3,000 counties in the United States provide juvenile probation services. Where there is no probation officer, there are no prehearing studies and no skilled supervision of the child who is put on probation.

Only 10 percent of all probation officers in the United States have had specialized training. Even where there are probation officers, they often have other responsibilities—care of the neglected and dependent, adoption, etc., not to mention performance of their own clerical work—so that they cannot provide the rehabilitation through social services which delinquent youth need. Perhaps some consideration could be given to the use of volunteers to supplement probation services. Recognizing the pitfalls, a court could yet use volunteers to advantage to free the probation officer to perform the functions which require his special skills.

There are usually no detention facilities because there are too few cases to justify them. Even regional facilities are not financially feasible without State aid. Therefore, some 75,000 children are confined in county jails each year—jails which do not meet minimum standards even for adults. The needs and problems in the area of detention are discussed in detail in chapter 17.

Psychiatric services are usually available only in residential treatment centers which do not exist in great numbers anywhere in the United States. There is a lack of variety in types of institutional care. The choice is usually between jail and probation. This means that probation, where it exists, is even more burdened and inadequate. It is usually difficult to find foster homes for older delinquents. Vocational training in institutions is a misnomer—the youth are usually not in the institution long enough to benefit and often are not ready for such training.

However, if there are few child-serving agencies in the community, the court must still meet the many demands, particularly for social services. The court has often preceded well-organized welfare agencies into the community. The court alone has the legal right to intervene. The court further has legal duties in connection with orphans, foster care for the neglected and dependent, adoption proceedings, and the like. To provide services in such areas, the court needs a social service staff and may be the only agency equipped to provide such service. Unfortunately, the court does not always see itself in such a service capacity.

Since the court is the focal point for dealing with delinquency in most rural communities, it needs to work with all child-serving agencies to improve social services and ameliorate social and physical conditions from which delinquency grows.

Prevention of delinquency lies in preventing its onset and reversing the delinquency patterns of those already delinquent. To prevent its onset requires strengthening the family, the church, the school, and providing youth with opportunities for normal adjustment, as well as dealing with community problems such as slums, lack of resources, discrimination, etc. Reversing delinquency patterns involves providing health and welfare services, specialized treatment, courts, etc.

Much of the court's preventive effort will be accomplished through its probation service. Probation is defined as "a legal status in which a child, following adjudication in a delinquency case, is permitted to remain in the community, subject to supervision by the court, and subject to being returned to the court at any time during the probation period" (2).

Probation begins with a social study of the child to identify factors causing the delinquency and to develop an individually designed program to counteract these factors. It is based on a good relationship between the child and probation officer. To obtain the objective of behavior change requires social work skills. Success may be judged by recidivism rates. Success, however, depends on the family's ability to improve the situation, on the judge's attitude, on the number and training of the probation staff, on community expectations, and on the presence of community resources which can contribute to rehabilitation.

Where no delinquency petition is filed, the court may handle the case unofficially in cooperation with the family. The court may be criticized for such unofficial handling since the court is not a social agency. However, where community resources are limited, as is true in many rural areas, some responsibility must devolve upon the court.

Another preventive effort of the court may be in the area of case-finding. If one child is in trouble, others in the family may also need help through the court or from other agencies to which the court can direct the family.

Because the court does play a key role in a community, it should be a force in community planning. It embodies the concern for neglected, dependent, and delinquent children. The court's knowledge of the community's children and of their needs, combined with the prestige and legal power of the judge, places it in a position of leadership. In rural communities, it may be the only agency capable of such leadership.

Even where a judge gives only part of his time to work with juveniles, it is necessary for him to use his leadership to help plan and build resources, to expose gaps in services, to interpret needs, and to stimulate action. By working through citizens' advisory groups, the court must stress the importance of prevention in delinquency services and lead the community toward good services for children and their families.

The court must interpret to the community the need for new or improved facilities for training and rehabilitating delinquents, the need for professional training and small caseloads for probation officers, the need for an adequate budget to recruit staff and provide in-service training. Beyond that, however, the court should be concerned with broader needs such as shelter care, day care, vocational rehabilitation, and even with adequate housing, slum clearance, equality of opportunity in education and employment. To the extent that it can lead the community toward social change which will strengthen family and community life, the court will be approaching a comprehensive program to treat and to prevent delinquency.

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY PLANNING

Whether it is the juvenile court or another agency which spearheads the effort, community planning must be broad and deep; all segments of the citizenry must be represented and planning must be careful and detailed.

A successful citizens' advisory group for any planning must represent citizen interest; if there is no interest there is no advice and no planning. Such an advisory committee must gather the facts in order to forge a common community goal. The committee should be comprised of individuals with open minds, without personal grudges or political ambitions, not committed to the advancement of a particular organization. Each agency thinks it could do the job alone, with more money. Since this has never been demonstrated, community planning must take a broader approach.

After such a committee has really found the facts, all relevant public and private agencies must be involved to carry through the program. Since broad programs often involve legal and financial problems, such key people as State legislators and local councilmen must be involved. Goals must be set and priorities determined. Agencies may need to change the emphasis of their programs, assume new duties, transfer functions, and otherwise alter their activities to achieve a common goal. But, if the group has been truly representative and is convinced of the need for such change, change should be forthcoming, albeit slowly.

THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Such broad community planning is the basis of the Federal program to prevent and control delinquency.

As a result of growing concern about the steady increases in youth crime and such related problems as school failures, dropouts, and youth unemployment, President Kennedy established the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime in May 1961, by Executive Order. This Committee, made up of the heads of the Departments of Justice, Labor, and of Health, Education, and Welfare, was created to coordinate the varied contributions of the three departments and indicated the Federal Government's interest in working with local communities to find creative and effective solutions to these national problems.

In September 1961, Congress passed the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act which authorized $10 million a year for 3 years to support comprehensive projects to combat delinquency and to provide programs for training vital personnel for youth-serving agencies.[1] This Act represented a determination, at the Federal level, to develop more effective and lasting solutions than limited, piecemeal efforts had provided in the past.

Basic to the Federal program is the belief that delinquency results from a multiplicity of factors. While efforts aimed at individual rehabilitation must continue, intervention aimed at the social situation of the youth appears more strategic. Youth whose delinquency is rooted in the social situation lack adequate opportunity for conforming behavior and the means to prepare for those opportunities that do exist.

The program is relatively small as Federal granting programs go. This reflects the belief that money alone is not the solution to juvenile delinquency; communities must systematically plan the redevelopment of their services for youth. Therefore, as of September 1963, the Federal Government had worked with 16 communities to plan comprehensive demonstration projects.

Such planning encompasses three considerations:

1. The nature of the problem,

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[1] This Act has been extended through June 1967.

2. The goals of the Federal program,
3. How the problem should be addressed.

The Nature of the Problem

Efforts in the past have been aimed largely at changing individual personality in order to eliminate delinquency. Recent theory has indicated that changing the social situation may be more strategic in the prevention or elimination of delinquency. Therefore, the Federal program is aimed at such change.

There is no simple relationship between delinquency and any single condition. High delinquency rates are correlated with a constellation of conditions—low family income, lack of educational and employment opportunities, poor housing, inadequate recreational facilities, community disorganization.

Intervention must occur simultaneously at many points. Federal grants, therefore, have gone to communities planning comprehensive projects, related to the particular conditions and institutions in the community, which propose to seek change in many institutions.

While delinquency occurs in every segment of our society, the bulk of it, and that which appears most amenable to social intervention, exists in the deteriorating inner core of cities and in the rural slums and depressed hinterlands of the Nation.

Since the Federal legislation specifies "prevention and control of juvenile delinquency," community programs must focus not merely on the rehabilitation of adjudicated delinquents but must work toward elimination of those conditions correlated with delinquency. The projects must be concerned with all youth in the most vulnerable areas, whether rural or urban.

The Goals of the Federal Program

The goals of the program are twofold and must be pursued concomitantly:

1. To eliminate those social conditions which obstruct conforming behavior. This will be done by modifying present arrangements and creating new ones so that vulnerable youth will have opportunities to conform to the expectations of the larger society.
2. To improve the social skills of youth so that they may grasp the opportunities which do exist.

How the Problem Should be Addressed

Planning involves the selection of a target area—a "community" that is relatively homogeneous, beset by social instability as evidenced by "collective delinquency," school failures, unemployment, economic dependency, and lack of formal organization. The planner must know the cultural and social patterns and the problems of the target population and understand the "life style" of the youth.

The process of planning will uncover the need to rearrange or add to existing programs, often in ways not typical of present-day health and welfare systems. Each component must be an integral part of the comprehensive total to provide for effective and timely intervention on behalf of youth.

Agencies with differing goals and representing different skills and disciplines must reexamine their goals. If planning is to be effective, change and adaptation will have to take place—in welfare and employment services, in educational institutions, and even in political structures.

Undergirding the comprehensive projects must be evaluation to see if individual programs have accomplished their stated goals, whether the total project achieved significant social change, whether such a comprehensive project has, in fact, affected the rates of delinquency and recidivism.

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Chapter 17

Detention Care in Rural Areas

By John J. Downey, M.S.S.W., Detention Consultant, Children's Bureau, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

This chapter is concerned with the detention care of children in rural areas. Detention is "the temporary care of children who require secure custody for their own or the community's protection in physically restricting facilities pending court disposition" (7). For the purpose of this discussion, a county with a population less than 50,000 will be considered a "rural area." The chapter discusses the following three questions: (a) What is the status of detention care in rural areas in the United states today? (b) What services are needed in rural areas for the detention or other temporary care of delinquent children pending court disposition? and (c) How can these temporary care services be made available to delinquent children in rural areas?

STATUS OF DETENTION CARE

Status of Detention Care in the United States

Before discussing detention care in rural areas, it might be well first to look at the detention situation generally. The picture is anything but encouraging.

1. Children are still in jail. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency (6) estimates that from 50,000-100,000 children are held in jail each year.
2. Children are in makeshift detention facilities which are virtually children's jails. The so-called detention homes often consist of a barred room in a county courthouse or home for the aged or in some other institution.
3. In some places specially designed detention homes have been constructed. Many of these, however, have serious limitations, including:

(*a*) The programs are so inadequate that they are little better than jails. They fail to meet their objectives of offsetting the harmful effects of confinement and beginning the process of rehabilitation.

(*b*) These detention homes are staffed and programed in such a way that they can care for only the mildly delinquent child who does not need detention. As a result, the seriously delinquent child for whom the detention program was intended is still being held in jail.

(*c*) Mildly delinquent children are being detained unnecessarily and harmfully in close association with sophisticated delinquents.

(*d*) Because of indiscriminate use, detention homes are dangerously overcrowded to a degree that an adequate program is practically impossible.

The manner in which delinquent children were cared for pending court disposition concerned the early leaders of the juvenile court movement. The presence of children in jail was one of the motivating factors in establishing the first juvenile court in 1899. Yet, 64 years later, the expressed detention objective of this movement, "to keep the child from the evils of jail . . . (and to care for him) as a wise father would care for his children," (10) is still far from a reality in most places. It is little wonder that detention has been called a national disgrace (4).

Status of Detention Care in Rural Areas

Detention care in rural areas is similar to that of detention generally. With regard to jail detention, the situation is probably worse.

From the information available,[1] jail detention is the rule rather than the exception. Few counties with a population under 50,000 have their own detention homes.

On the other hand, proportionately fewer children are detained in rural areas. To some extent, this would be expected because the delinquency rate in rural areas is only one-third of that in urban areas. The detention problem then is less serious in the rural areas from the standpoint of the number of children affected, but more serious for the child who is detained—he goes to jail.

Jail Detention of Children

Since jail detention is so prevalent in rural areas, this practice should be discussed in more detail. It has been condemned by authorities in the field of child welfare and correction for many years. Yet, there seems to be much complacency about it. There is a tendency to accept the excuse that "there is no other place to put them (the children)." For this reason, the following facts about the jailing of children should be emphasized:

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[1] Although no systematic study has been made, there is considerable information on the status of detention care in rural areas. This information has been secured from the Statewide statistics and studies of detention care from consultation and observation visits to rural areas.

1. Most jails are unfit for adults. Federal inspectors have described jails as follows: "if they (jails) are not quite the 'crucible of crime' they were in the 1930's, they continue in the main to be operated by persons without real qualifications for dealing with aberrant human beings" (2).
2. In the majority of the cases of jail detention that have been studied, the child did not need to be detained at all. Furthermore, many of the "delinquent acts" for which children were placed in jail would not be violations of law if committed by adults. A study in a rural State (1) revealed that 209 of 686 jail detentions were for such acts as truancy, ungovernability, running away, curfew violations, consuming beer, etc. The study also showed that in no instance of jail detention of a child would bail have been denied an adult in the same situation. The study revealed further that children held in jail often were not referred to court, making their jail detention illegal. The irony of the jail detention of children is that they are placed in jails like serious adult offenders by juvenile courts while they are not given legal safeguards that would have been afforded them in adult criminal courts.
3. Studies repeatedly demonstrate the demoralizing atmosphere of jail for children. For example, the study mentioned above reported the following on visits to eight jails in rural areas:
   - (*a*) The children in the cells were, for the most part, unsupervised, out of sight and hearing of the adults in charge. A cry for help would not be heard. Suicide could be easily accomplished within these cells. Older, more sophisticated and larger juveniles could mistreat the smaller and younger ones without being seen or heard by adults in charge of the jails.
   - (*b*) The children observed during these visits were always idle. They had nothing to do.
   - (*c*) Some children were placed in solitary confinement and were not permitted even reading materials except for the Bible.
   - (*d*) Incidents reported from one county illustrated dramatically how the jail setting can contribute to the further serious delinquency of children. In one situation, two boys while in jail allegedly made younger children commit unnatural sexual acts. These two boys were brought back into court and charged with sodomy and committed to the State Industrial School. In another incident, a boy in jail on a traffic charge was brought back to court on an assault charge for beating up a smaller boy who refused to do his (the bigger boy's) work.

Peter Maas' article in *Look* includes the following:

> Take the teenage girl, a runaway, who scratched this prayer on the steel wall of county jail cell, "May the Lord bless and help us who are in this place."
>
> Take the 16 year old boy arrested for auto theft, who, after 2 days alone in maximum security was found hanging by his neck from a twisted sheet tied to the bars of his cell window. Cut down by his jailer just in time, he later explained to the judge, "I have caused everyone an awful lot of trouble." (4, p. 50).

Jail detention is harmful for children. It makes treatment more difficult, and often contributes to further delinquency. It is a serious problem of youth in rural areas. Yet, the rural county is less able to eliminate jail detention by itself. It is dependent to a large degree upon State action for adequate detention care.

SERVICES NEEDED FOR DETENTION AND OTHER TEMPORARY CARE OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN PENDING COURT DISPOSITION

Children To Be Served

With respect to the need for temporary care, delinquent children may be classified into three groups: (a) those who can and should be left with their parents or guardians, (b) those who need temporary care but do not require secure custody, and (c) those who require the secure custody of detention.

Children Who Can and Should be Left With Their Parents or Guardians

Most children coming before the court can remain in their own homes or that of a responsible relative while awaiting court disposition. Parents can and should take responsibility for the care of their children during this period. Also, casework by the probation officer or other caseworker to the child and his parents may provide sufficient support to allow the child to remain in his home during this period. Leaving the child with his parents may then become an opportunity to help the parents take an active role in the child's rehabilitation. Moreover, it eliminates the possibility of a damaging detention experience.

Children Who Need Temporary Care but Who Do Not Require Custody

Included in this group is the child, who, if released, would be in physical or moral danger; whose relationship to his own parents has been strained to the point of serious damage; or who, having been in a foster home or institution prior to the delinquent act, is not able to return to the foster home or institution. These children should be cared for in shelter homes. They should not be grouped with the children who require secure custody.

Children Who Require the Secure Custody of Detention Care

This group includes children who are almost certain to run away or to commit an offense dangerous to themselves or the community while awaiting court disposition or placement, and children who must be held for another jurisdiction. Even with the help of a probation officer or other caseworker, these children would be unable to control their behavior or their parents would be unable to maintain custody and control of them (6).

Objectives of the Service

A community's program of temporary care for delinquent children pending court disposition should provide that: (a) Children who can be left in their own homes safely will not be unnecessarily removed from their homes. (b) Children who require diagnostic service will be able to receive that service without being unnecessarily detained. (c) Children who need temporary care pending court disposition but who do not require secure custody will be cared for in a shelter facility and not be placed in the secure custody of detention. (d) Children who require secure custody prior to court disposition will receive adequate detention care.

Prerequisites of the Service

Basic to a service providing temporary care for delinquent children is the conviction that jail is no place for a child. Further, a detention program should be viewed as only a part of the continuum of integrated services for delinquent children. The effectiveness is dependent upon the adequacy of other services such as police services for children, probation, or other court designated casework services, mental health diagnostic services, and treatment services.

Law enforcement officers should be youth-oriented. They should be capable of screening youth upon apprehension so that no child will be unnecessarily placed in confinement. Citations should be used when possible to do so without endangering the child or the community (5).

There should be adequate probation or other court designated casework services to carry out the court's detention intake policies and procedures. In many instances, casework services can provide the child and his parents with the support that makes it possible for the child to remain with his parents pending court disposition. An adequate probation service includes trained probation officers, who, through their diagnostic skill and with the assistance of clinical services when appropriate, can help the court through their social studies to make better court dispositions. Adequately trained probation officers can carry on effective casework treatment of the child in the community. Where high quality probation services are not available, delinquent children are often locked up in detention in the hope that they might somehow become better adjusted individuals and/or be deterred from further delinquency.

Diagnostic services should be available on an outpatient basis to all delinquent children who require such services. Adequate and diversified treatment services are needed. Detention care cannot substitute for such services; at best, it can only begin the process of rehabilitation.

Essentials of the Service

Detention Intake Policies and Procedures

Detention intake policies and procedures are necessary to insure the appropriate use of detention care for the children for whom it is necessary and shelter care facilities for children who need care but not secure custody. These policies and procedures should be clearly defined by the court in writing. Where appropriate, they should be required by State regulation.

Shelter Foster Homes for Delinquent Children

Among the delinquent children often held in detention are those who need temporary care outside of their own homes pending court disposition but who do not require secure custody. Unless special provisions are made for their temporary care, they are likely to be unnecessarily placed in detention. They should be cared for in a shelter (open-type) facility such as a subsidized foster home or an agency-operated group home.[2]

A shelter home for delinquents should have no security features, i.e., no locked rooms, no barred windows, etc. Its capacity should be limited to five or six children. It should be reserved for the temporary care of delinquent children awaiting court disposition and it should not be used for any other type of foster care. Special features of this type of home are:

1. It should be open and ready to accept children on a 24-hour basis. The foster parents should be compensated for keeping the home available for emergency use.
2. The board rate should be substantially higher than is paid to other foster homes, because the children to be cared for are usually more difficult to handle, requiring closer supervision. In addition, this type of care does not give foster parents the satisfaction they derive from longer term care. Depending on the number of children cared for, provision should be made for appropriate relief for the foster parents.
3. The foster home should be carefully chosen. The foster parents should be capable of giving understanding and constructive care to

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[2] A "subsidized foster home" may be defined as a family foster home that is paid a flat monthly amount as a subsidy in addition to a per diem board rate per child. An "agency-operated group home" is a home owned or leased and operated by the agency. The adults in the home responsible for the children may be paid a salary, a subsidy, and/or a per diem board rate per child. For a discussion of the different types of foster care, see Hagen (3). For a more detailed discussion of shelter care, see Norman (8).

difficult and upset delinquent children. They should be able and ready to give close supervision to the extent, for example, of sitting up with an upset child in an emergency situation and keeping him within sight and sound at all times. They should be capable of involving children in a variety of constructive activities.

4. Close contact should be maintained by the probation officer or other caseworker with the children placed in shelter care and with the temporary foster parents.
5. In some instances, the child should attend the school in the community. If the period of temporary care is too short to justify transfer to the local school, or if, for some other reasons it is not feasible for the child to attend school in the community, he should be served by the home teacher.
6. Children should have an opportunity to attend religious services of their own faith in the community.
7. Although community recreation may be used, the home should be equipped with appropriate play and craft materials. These should be provided by the agency or be included in the subsidy.
8. Appropriate medical and clinical services should be available.

Detention Care (Secure Custody)

Use of Detention

The distinguishing feature of detention care, as opposed to other types of temporary child care, is that it is secure custody. It suspends at least temporarily the child's right to his freedom and his parents' rights to his care and custody. It may be harmful to the child and may make his rehabilitation more difficult. In detention, he is confined with other, perhaps more serious, delinquency cases. He may identify with these delinquents and assume their hostile attitude against adult authority and society in general. Not having been successful in other respects, the notoriety of having been placed in detention may give the delinquent child the recognition that he craves and may further confirm him in his delinquent pattern. Placement of a child in detention is, then, a drastic action. A child should be detained only when a failure to do so would place the child or the community in danger (6).

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency (6) holds that less than 10 percent of the juvenile offenders apprehended by law enforcement officers require detention.

Characteristics of Children in Detention

Generally speaking, when detention is properly used, the children in detention are among the community's most disturbed and aggressively acting-out adolescents. They are in detention during a crucial time in their lives. They are the children on whom the community needs to expend its best efforts to redirect them into becoming socially useful citizens. They are upset, feeling the world is against them, anxious and worried about the future. They must be cared for under conditions of confinement—conditions against which even nondelinquent children might rebel. They are capable of suicide, escape, or attack. Their detention experience cannot be a neutral one. It will be either destructive, confirming their delinquent patterns and attitudes, or constructive, beginning the process of rehabilitation. The mission of the detention is to provide a constructive experience.

Objectives of Detention Care

If detention is to be a constructive experience for the child, it must accomplish four basic and interwoven objectives (6). It must provide:

1. Secure custody with good physical care in a manner that will offset the damaging effects of confinement.
2. Constructive and satisfying activities, not just to amuse the child or to take up his time, but to provide an opportunity for the child to bring out his positive potentials, to help him find socially acceptable ways of gaining satisfaction, and to provide a basis for positive staff-child relationships and a setting for observation and study.
3. Individual and group guidance to help the child use his detention experience positively.
4. Observation and study leading to a better diagnosis upon which to build a better treatment plan.

Requirements of a Minimum Detention Program

Because of the characteristics of children in detention, the physical plant needs to be fire-resistive and secure but not jail-like. Its details of construction and the materials used should not afford the children opportunities for escaping, hiding, committing suicide, or injuring themselves, other children, or staff. The layout of the building should permit visual and auditory supervision of the children by staff.

There should be individual rooms as children in detention cannot stand being continuously in a group. They need a rest from the group, a chance to think things through and to cry, if necessary, without being ridiculed by other children. Because constructive activities are necessary to a detention program, there must be adequate space for these activities which include vigorous games and sports, crafts and arts, group discussions, quiet games, and gameroom activities. The cost of construction in 1961 for such a specially designed building was estimated to range from $12,000 to $20,000 per bed (6). This cost of construction would in all probability be prohibitive for rural counties.

Again, because of the characteristics of children in detention, they must be under supervision at all times. At least one man and one woman group counselor must be with the children on a 24-hour basis, even in the smallest detention home. This requirement calls for about 10 group counselors[3] because 4.7 persons are needed to cover one position on a 24-hour day, 7 days per week basis.

Because the detention program must offset the damaging effects of confinement and begin the process of rehabilitation, the atmosphere that prevails within the detention home should be characterized by the acceptance of the child as a person. The youngster "should feel in the staff a warm acceptance of himself and rejection only of his antisocial behavior." (6). Positive use should be made of the children's living together to help them improve their ability to get along with one another and persons in authority and to cope with their own individual and group problems. The child-care staff should be able to create and maintain this atmosphere and to carry on constructive activities. They should be capable of observing and recording, for diagnostic use by the caseworker and clinical staff, the behavior of the individual children in the group. These staff members should be college graduates or have the educational background and experience equivalent to that of a beginning probation officer or child welfare worker. They should be supervised by a person trained in working with disturbed children in groups, such as a social group worker. As individual guidance and diagnostic observation and study are objectives of detention, there needs to be provision for casework. Also clinical services should be available. The 10 group counselors and the caseworker, along with a maintenance man, a cook, and a housekeeper, comes to a minimum staff of 15 persons. This staff and the specially designed physical plant and program are necessary regardless of how few children are in detention.

HOW TEMPORARY CARE SERVICES CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE TO DELINQUENT CHILDREN IN RURAL AREAS

Probation Services

Providing an adequate probation service can be a problem in a rural area. This chapter, however, is not addressed to that problem. Is suffices to say here that a probation staff can be as large or as small at needed. For this reason, probation is relatively less difficult to provide than a detention service which cannot be operated on a small scale.

Shelter Care for Delinquent Children

In most counties with a population under 50,000, the number of delinquent children who require temporary care but not secure custody pending court disposition is relatively small. In all probability subsidized foster homes as described above would be able to care for these children.

Since there need not be any capital expenditure in the use of subsidized foster homes and the subsidy payment can be as small or as large as the volume of care justifies, a shelter foster home program for delinquent children can be operated on a small scale. Consequently, it can be practical for the small county. There are many small counties which would not need even one such home for its own use. Two or more counties could operate one jointly. Whether or not a county should set up a shelter foster home for delinquents for its own use or attempt a joint endeavor with other counties, would, of course, depend on the number of children requiring such care.

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[3] Two of these group counselors should be senior group counselors who can assume responsibility of the detention home in the absence of the director.

Ordinarily, delinquent children who need diagnostic service but not temporary care should be studied on an outpatient basis while they remain in their own homes. There may be some children who need such study in counties where no diagnostic services are available. Temporary care for a few days may be required for these children close to a clinic. For this reason, shelter homes should be set up in the communities where clinics are located. In developing shelter foster homes for delinquent children, the advice and the assistance of a trained, experienced foster care worker should be sought.

Detention Services

It will be recalled that a detention service requires a minimum staff of about 15, a specially designed physical plant, and a basic program regardless of how few children are in detention. The smallest unit that would justify a staff of 15 and would make a detention program practical is a single unit detention home with a capacity of 20. At $12,000 to $20,000 per bed (6) it would cost from $240,000 to $400,000 to construct and would require an annual minimum budget of about $78,000. A county would need to have about 300 detention cases annually in which the child stayed an average of 14 days to justify such a detention home. Studies have shown that such a minimum of 300 detention cases per year cannot be expected in counties with populations under 250,000.[4] Obviously then, it would be impractical for rural counties to operate their own detention homes. Rural counties will have to be served by regional detention homes if every delinquent child who requires detention is to receive an adequate service.

Furthermore, since the minimum of 300 detention cases annually cannot be expected in any area with a population of less than 250,000, regional detention can no longer be thought of as a few counties joining together to operate a detention home. If regional detention is to accomplish the objective of providing an adequate detention service to all children who require it regardless of where they live or are arrested, it must be planned on a statewide basis and must include all counties. Such State regional detention plans cannot be put into effect through the voluntary action of counties in joint endeavors. It requires the initiative of a State agency which will not only develop such a plan but take primary responsibility in providing detention services.

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[4] This statement should not be interpreted to mean that all counties with a population over 250,000 have a sufficient number of children requiring detention to make practical the operation of their own detention home.

Fortunately, counties with a population under 50,000 are not alone in their inability to provide their own detention services. Of over 3,000 counties in the United States, only 122 have populations over 250,000. State regional detention then is a necessity for all but a relatively few counties. Widespread recognition of this fact could hasten the day when an effective State regional detention plan becomes a reality in every State.[5]

Control of Admission to Regional Detention Home

A child may be admitted or released from a detention home only upon the authority of the court that holds jurisdiction. A regional detention home is used by several courts. There could be a wide variance in the criteria for admission used by the different courts. Special measures, therefore, are required to insure adequate and uniform detention intake control (6). These measures include:

1. The State agency responsible for detention, with appropriate representation of the courts involved, should develop and promulgate statewide detention intake control standards including general criteria for detaining, length of stay, and special procedures to assure coordination of law enforcement, probation, detention, and court services.
2. Judges or court administrators using a common regional detention facility should draw up a statement of specific intake policies and procedures. They should review this statement regularly. It should be distributed to the courts and probation departments using the detention home, to the appropriate State agency, and to any advisory committee or group concerned with detention.
3. In each jurisdiction, the judge, or one or more probation officers designated by the judge, should be available after the court hours to authorize the detention or release of children apprehended by law enforcement officers.
4. All law enforcement officers should be given full information regarding procedures to follow or court officers to call when a child apparently requires detention.

Special Provision for the use of Regional Detention Home by Distant Counties

Even where there is a Statewide program of regional detention, there will be problems in the use of homes by outlying counties located at a considerable distance. These problems will call for special provisions for local overnight care, transportation to and from the regional detention home, and casework at the regional detention home.

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[5] At this time, State agencies are operating regional detention in only four States—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland.

Local Overnight Care Facilities

In counties located at a distance, it may be impractical to transport the delinquent child who requires secure custody immediately upon his apprehension. A local, secure overnight care facility could allow the court and the probation staff up to a maximum of 24 hours to interview the child, his parents, etc., and to transport him to the distant detention home pending court disposition, or, in cases well known to the court in which the final disposition is already indicated, make and carry out the final disposition.

The criteria for the use of a secure overnight care facility would be the same as for secure detention, that is, it would be used only when to do otherwise would be likely to place the child or the community in danger. It should not be a service in lieu of detention service. Its use should be limited to 24 hours. It should be permitted only in counties that have made definite arrangements for both shelter care for children not requiring secure custody and regional detention care for those who require secure custody.

Such an overnight facility should not be a jail or a police lockup. It should be secure, but non-jail-like, have some room for activity, and be constantly supervised. It could probably best be carried on in some type of institution giving 24-hour care to people but in quarters separate from and out of sight and hearing of the other people. Examples of places where such local overnight care could be given are: (a) a retention room (for mentally ill patients) in a general hospital; (b) other hospital or institution under guard; (c) the shelter foster home under guard, if no other children are in the home at the time; or (d) a specially designed overnight facility such as the type "C" detention home provided for by the Utah detention standards (9). General hospitals are often called upon to give temporary care for mentally ill patients. The delinquent child who could be a danger to himself or the community could be cared for in a similar manner. Further, a deputy could be employed on a standby basis for the occasional duty of staying with a child who would require local overnight care in secure custody. The employment of such a deputy would be far less expensive than the cost of operating a small detention home. Detailed recording and reporting of such overnight care should be required by the appropriate State agency.

Transportation of the Child to Regional Detention Home

In many States, transportation of a child from some counties to the regional detention home would entail a long trip. Often, the police agency could not afford to have one of its officers away from the home community for the time such a trip would require. For this reason, it may be advisable to employ a special deputy on a standby basis for this purpose. He could be the same person suggested above for guard duty in the local overnight care facility.

Detention Casework Services to the Children from Distant Counties

Through the use of the overnight care facility when it is necessary, the courtworker will be provided an opportunity to conduct a lengthy interview with the child before he is taken to the detention home. When problems arise in the detention home itself, when there is need to interview the child for more information for the social study or for the police, or the child must be taken to the clinic, the caseworker at the regional detention home can accomplish these tasks. This would make it unnecessary for the probation officer from the home county to make special trips to the detention home.

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PART V
Adapting to Urban Ways

Chapter 18

The Job Outlook for Rural Youth

Prepared by Joseph S. Zeisel, M.A., Economic Advisor to the Director, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U.S. Department of Labor.

Based on

On Employment Prospects for Rural Communities

George S. Tolley, Ph.D., Professor of Agricultural Economics, North Carolina State College.[1]

Trends in Nonfarm Employment

Joseph S. Zeisel, M.A., Economic Advisor to the Director, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U.S. Department of Labor.

The movement of large numbers of workers from agriculture to nonagricultural employment, and from rural to urban residence, with all that this shift implies, is nothing new to our economy. But the shift out of farming is now presenting some new and especially difficult problems, particularly for youngsters, for several very important reasons:

1. The success of the transition depends in large measure on the availability of nonfarm jobs, centered in urban areas. The rate of growth of output and nonfarm employment has been inadequate in most recent years to absorb the increase in the labor force and the shift from agriculture, and to offset fully the disemployment effects of productivity gains.
2. We have recently entered into a period of vast increase in the number of young persons entering the labor force, the heritage of the post-World War II baby boom. As a result, competition for jobs has become particularly keen among young persons.
3. Long-run technological changes have reduced the demand for unskilled and semiskilled workers, thus reducing the potential number of jobs that have most frequently been the entering positions for new workers and for those shifting from farm to nonfarm work.

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[1] Professor Tolley would like to acknowledge the valuable assistance received from S. G. Ponder. The calculations on which the analysis of rural development are based were made possible by the Agricultural Policy Institute, using figures from U.S. population censuses, unless other sources are given.

The impact of these trends on employment in general and employment opportunities for rural youth in particular has been substantial. Nonagricultural employment has grown most rapidly in the service-producing sector of the economy, particularly among white-collar workers and women and among industries associated with urbanization. At the same time, the decline in agricultural employment has occurred among men, especially those operating family or tenant farms which were generally remote from any sizable urban area. In addition, the goods-producing industries which have sought low cost, unskilled labor around smaller areas in the regions most affected by the decline in agriculture, have typically been large employers of women. Moreover, industries attracted to such areas by shifts in their markets or the location of natural resources have tended to need workers in occupations for which farm youths have little training. Thus, the young men have had little choice but to leave the farm areas, and their sisters and wives have followed. These young people have been particularly handicapped in the increasingly skilled urban labor force by their comparatively low levels of education.

Because these trends are likely to continue, many rural young people face a bleak future, unless there are accelerated economic growth and major improvements in our educational and training system.

INDUSTRY EMPLOYMENT SHIFTS

Most of the industries where employment increased in the first decade after World War II either grew more slowly or declined substantially in the second decade. For the entire postwar period, the major job growth in the private economy occurred in trade; services (hotels, business, personal, and professional services); finance, insurance, and real estate; and contract construction.

Only in the public sector of the economy has the rate of employment growth increased since 1957 as compared with the previous decade. This growth has been overwhelmingly in State and local employment—largely in school systems (6, 8).

The proportion of all workers in goods-producing industries (agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and construction) fell from 51 percent in 1947 to 46 percent in 1957 and to 42 percent in 1962. The rate of decline in the latter half decade was about two-thirds greater than in the previous decade. Conversely, the service-producing industries (trade, services, finance-insurance-real estate, transportation, and government) have continued to increase as a proportion of total employment, largely because of the developments in State and local governments and in the finance, insurance and real estate, and service industries.

A major factor in the increase in service employment was due to the very sharp rise in government employment, which has, since 1947, accounted for over one-third of the 12 million new jobs in the nonagricultural economy (6). The sharp postwar growth in population and its concentration in urban and suburban areas has increased the demand for workers in education, health, and welfare services. In 1962, local governments (cities, counties, townships, schools, and other districts) employed over 5 million workers, about 55 percent of the public employment total. State governments, with over 1.7 million workers, had some 20 percent of the total and the Federal Government, with about 2.3 million, 25 percent.

The nongovernment sector of services has also been a substantial source of employment in the postwar years. This is especially true of trade and the service and miscellaneous industry. Between them, these two industries provided 350,000 new jobs a year between 1947 and 1962.

The shift from goods to service industries has had a profound impact on the demand for labor. This has been manifested in two ways—a very substantial increase in the number and proportion of women employed, and a shift in emphasis from blue-collar to white-collar employment.

WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

The increase in the employment of women, especially of those between 45 and 65 years of age, has been the most striking recent development in the labor force. Although they currently constitute only one-third of the Nation's workers, women have accounted for about three-fifths of the entire labor force increase since the end of World War II (10).

The steady increase in women workers is associated with migration to urban areas which gave them access to nonfarm jobs, greater use of labor-saving equipment in the home, rising educational attainment, and changing attitudes toward employment of women. But probably the major factor has been the rapid growth of the service industries, which have employed large numbers of women in clerical, sales, and service occupations.

In contrast, the industries of declining employment (agriculture, durable goods manufacturing, mining, contract construction) are employers largely of men. As a result, the men disemployed in the contracting sectors of the economy have had few opportunities for employment in the expanding sectors. Rather, jobs in these areas have been filled by women—largely married women of middle age—entering or reentering the labor market.

OCCUPATIONAL SHIFTS

The shift in the industrial composition of employment has in turn stimulated the trend from blue-collar (craftsmen, operatives, and laborers) to white-collar (professional, managerial, clerical, and sales) occupations. This trend has been evident for over half a century (10). At the turn of the century there were less than half as many white-collar workers as blue-collar workers in the United States. By 1950, the numbers were about even, and in 1956 for the first time the employment of white-collar workers exceeded that of blue-collar workers. In fact, employment of blue-collar workers in 1962 was only slightly (3 percent) above the level of 15 years earlier (13).

Among the major reasons for this trend are the rapid gains in government and the service-producing sectors of private industry, both large employers of white-collar workers, and the slower growth in goods-producing industries, which employ a relatively large number of blue-collar workers. In 1962, about three-fifths of all public employees compared with two-fifths of the labor force were in white-collar jobs. (6). In addition, technological changes have cut employment of operatives and laborers in manufacturing as well as in mining and other industries. At the same time, the number of white-collar workers on factory payrolls has risen by nearly two-thirds since 1947.

A third group of occupations—service workers (cooks, janitors, barbers, etc.)—includes both blue- and white-collar workers and accounts for about one-eighth of all jobs. Employment of service workers has increased significantly in recent years and provides an important source of jobs.

In both blue-collar and white-collar occupations, the demands of rapid technological change have evoked a shift from unskilled jobs to occupations requiring longer education and more intensive training. Employment in the most highly trained white-collar group—professional, technical, and kindred workers—increased by 47 percent between 1950 and 1960—more than three times the average for all occupations.

Other major occupation groups that grew substantially in the 1950's were clerical workers, up 34 percent, service workers, up about 25 percent, and sales workers, up about 20 percent.

Almost all the increase in blue-collar employment in the past decade occurred among skilled craftsmen, and even this group grew more slowly than total employment. Two-thirds of the rise in skilled workers occurred among foremen, mechanics, and repairmen.

Operatives (largely semiskilled workers), who make up the largest occupational group in the American labor force, showed no significant change in number over the decade and thus declined as a proportion of total employment. Recent technological advances and automation have permitted substantial expansion in output without proportionate increases in the number of machine operators. This sharply restricted employment of operatives in factories and cut employment of operatives in mining by about half during the 1950's.

Employment in laboring jobs actually declined by almost 10 percent between 1950 and 1960, primarily because of the increasing substitution of machinery for unskilled labor in handling and moving of heavy objects, in unloading, in excavating, etc.

GEOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN EMPLOYMENT

Accompanying the industrial and occupational changes in employment, geographic shifts in employment have been an important feature of the American economy. Industrial activity and employment have declined sharply in some traditionally important centers of production and increased in others, as a result of many forces, both economic and demographic.

Among the most rapidly expanding States are those bordering on the south Atlantic and Pacific coasts. In California, Oregon, and Washington, nonfarm employment rose by 2.6 million, or 61 percent, between 1947 and 1962. Along the south Atlantic Coast (from Maryland to Florida), the number of nonfarm jobs increased by 2.2 million, or 41 percent. In contrast, employment in New England rose by only 430,000, or 13 percent, over this 15-year period. In two States, West Virginia and Rhode Island, nonfarm jobs actually declined, reflecting the sharp cutbacks in coal mining and textile employment.

An illustration of the kind of dramatic change that has taken place in the redistribution of employment is the rise and fall in the fortunes of the Great Lake States—Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin. During World War II these States grew as production centers, surpassing the once dominant Middle Atlantic States in the number of factory workers, but their importance has since declined. Even though manufacturing employment in the Nation as a whole increased by 8 percent between 1947 and 1962, it dropped by 4 percent in the Great Lakes States.

The changing geography of nonfarm employment has particular relevance in determining the extent and nature of job opportunities for young persons leaving farms. Between 1950 and 1960, six States showed a net decline in total employment: West Virginia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Arkansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota. In West Virginia, employment dropped in both the farm and nonfarm sectors of the economy, and in the other five, the increase in nonfarm employment was insufficient to offset the drop in farm jobs. Moreover, the employment of men declined in 19 States between 1950 and 1960. In all but West Virginia this was again the result of a decline in agricultural employment that exceeded the increase in nonfarm jobs.

Concomitantly, the industrial distributions of urban and rural work forces have become increasingly similar. Even among farm residents, agriculture accounted for only about 60 percent of employment in 1960. A reshuffling of only about 1 person in 10 would be needed to achieve comparable distributions of nonagricultural employment among urban, farm, and rural nonfarm residents. Indeed, between 1950 and 1960, the 23 percent increase in nonagricultural employment of urban residents was not much greater than the 19 percent increase in nonagricultural employment of rural people.

While the rural labor force has become more like the urban, important demographic characteristics still differentiate many rural and urban areas. Moreover, there are significant demographic variations among rural areas. Such differences tend to be associated with distance from urban centers. The rural fringes of metropolitan areas have experienced rapid population growth and increased nonagricultural employment, whereas rural areas more removed from metropolitan centers have lagged greatly in the growth of nonagricultural employment.

For instance, consider all counties which in 1950 neither had towns of 50,000 or more persons nor touched other counties having such towns. Total employment in these outlying counties remained virtually constant during the 1950's, growing only 1 percent while national employment grew 15 percent. The total for the outlying counties was held down by the decline in agricultural employment, which had been the most important source of jobs in 1950. In addition, the 18 percent growth in nonagricultural employment in the outlying counties was below the comparable 22 percent figure for the whole country.

TABLE 1. Employment Changes from 1950 to 1960, by Industry, United States and Outlying Counties [a]

Industry group	United States		Outlying counties	
	1960 employment (in thousands)	Percent change from 1950	1960 employment (in thousands)	Percent change from 1950
Total	64,639	+15	15,659	+1
Agriculture	4,257	−38	2,603	−41
Forests, fish, and mining	747	−29	441	−23
Construction	3,816	+11	1,039	+8
Manufacturing	17,513	+20	3,100	+23
Furniture	1,067	−10	543	−14
Metals	2,517	−26	248	+36
Machinery	3,055	+47	340	+71
Vehicles	1,819	+35	125	+92
Other durables	1,371	+21	225	+29
Food processing	1,822	+30	409	+46
Textile	954	−23	296	−7
Apparel	1,159	+9	248	+82
Printing	1,141	+34	164	+46
Chemicals	865	+31	145	+24
Other manufacturing	1,743	+9	356	+18
Transportation, communication, and utilities	4,458	+2	955	−4
Wholesale trade	2,213	+12	405	+11
Retail trade	9,580	+12	2,372	+14
Services	8,667	+27	1,887	+18
Educational, professional	10,781	+51	2,450	+44
Other	2,608	+210	405	+46

[a] Outlying counties include all counties which were neither in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas nor contiguous with these areas in 1950.

Agricultural and nonagricultural employment of persons living in outlying counties is shown in table 2 for each State. In the Northeast, with the exception of New York, changes in nonagricultural employment either reinforced or just about counterbalanced declines in farming. The North Central region presents a mixed picture. Only in the eastern part of the region were increases in nonagricultural employment in the outlying counties great enough to offset the declines in agricultural employment. Outlying counties of the Mountain region, with the exception of Montana and Nevada, were the only group to show pronounced net employment expansions, but have not enough employment to strongly affect national totals. In outlying counties in Pacific Coast States, where the relative increase in nonfarm jobs was somewhat less, the net growth in employment was slight.

For the most part there were large increases in outlying nonagriculture in the South, although large decreases occurred in Virginia and West Virginia. The South also had the greatest decline in outlying agricultural employment, so that a majority of these States experienced a net decline in total outlying employment.

The increase in nonagricultural employment in these outlying counties was concentrated largely in cities with 10,000 to 50,000 population. (In fact, many cities of this size grew sufficiently during the 1950's to be classified as urbanized areas in 1960, although the data presented here exclude the effects of such reclassification.) Places under 2,000 declined slightly, whereas those having between 2,000 and 10,000 remained relatively stable.

Thus, rural growth around urban centers extends to some more removed places, but becomes weaker with distance from the large metropolitan areas. Finally, declining places are reached, as reflected in the losses in population by nearly half the 3,000 counties in the United States [2]—predominantly those that still depend primarily upon agriculture and are located in the most isolated parts of the country.

Why does the size of the collecting nodes go down to places of 10,000 but not significantly below that? This size may represent a balance between cohesive and decentralizing forces.

Some of the same tendencies that have made industry expand to western and southern regions have made it expand around smaller places within the growing regions. The search for low cost labor is not simply regional; it is pervasive and extends to smaller centers. As can be seen in table 1, industries growing most rapidly in the outlying counties have been chiefly those for which the major cost component is low skill labor. Truck transportation and an improving highway system have made it increasingly feasible to move plants to people. Manufacturers

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[2] A study of population changes states that "rural population has grown where the urban population is more numerous, but has declined in the least urban areas. The existence of a large, dense, and growing urban population in a region tends to create conditions of population growth in rural counties of the same region" (2, p. 14).

TABLE 2. Residents of Outlying Counties Employed in Agriculture and Nonagriculture, 1950 and 1960, by State [a]

State	Agriculture (in thousands)		Nonagriculture (in thousands)	
	1950	1969	1950	1960
New England:				
Maine	22	14	141	159
New Hampshire	6	3	68	56
Vermont	24	15	104	104
Massachusetts	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
Rhode Island	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
Connecticut	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
Middle Atlantic:				
New York	36	28	223	291
New Jersey	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
Pennsylvania	27	15	224	209
East North Central:				
Ohio	79	42	350	433
Indiana	90	57	364	402
Illinois	141	93	457	508
Michigan	57	27	220	257
Wisconsin	158	107	353	409
West North Central:				
Minnesota	229	147	326	321
Iowa	163	127	270	303
Missouri	209	115	366	398
North Dakota	99	70	125	144
South Dakota	79	60	109	124
Nebraska	120	92	161	180
Kansas	121	79	246	274
South Atlantic:				
Delaware	6	4	18	23
Maryland	37	24	271	421
Virginia	142	84	603	549
West Virginia	49	19	389	286
North Carolina	221	125	446	544
South Carolina	124	62	188	224
Georgia	229	105	486	659
Florida	72	58	269	482
East South Central:				
Kentucky	210	110	359	398
Tennessee	176	93	384	471
Alabama	139	56	211	282
Mississippi	257	120	321	393
West South Central:				
Arkansas	187	89	291	335
Louisiana	124	59	314	451
Oklahoma	115	53	243	247
Texas	292	187	730	904
Mountain:				
Montana	54	31	164	133
Idaho	54	42	142	179
Wyoming	22	10	86	105
Colorado	47	30	110	143
New Mexico	28	10	94	126
Arizona	15	9	60	89
Utah	16	9	32	119
Nevada	7	5	57	20
Pacific:				
Washington	46	38	210	240
Oregon	55	36	273	320
California	49	29	209	268

[a] Outlying counties include all counties which were neither in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas nor contiguous with these areas in 1950.

[b] No outlying counties.

particularly attracted to outlying areas have also been induced to shift regionally because their customers are shifting regionally. An important example has been the southward move of synthetics plants as part of the textile-complex shift (12).

Counter tendencies of cohesion have prevented decentralization from spreading manufacturing activity to people and raw materials willy-nilly, wherever they may be. Minimum facility needs are not likely to be satisfied in extremely small places. Highway or railroad access is needed, as are possibilities for servicing of equipment and reasonably good facilities for rapid communication with suppliers, customers, or home office. Labor must occur in large enough concentrations so that a good supply is within commuting range. In addition, the industries with particular demands for the space, natural resources, and waste disposal available in outlying areas have not had an overall large growth rate (12).

We have yet to mention the major reasons that almost half the counties had population declines between 1950 and 1960. These counties were overwhelmingly located in the outlying and predominantly agricultural areas. The biggest single agricultural influence in the decline was associated with the mechanization of cotton production, which led to a decline in cotton acreage in the southern Piedmont and greatly curtailed cotton labor requirements in the Delta and other areas where cotton continues to flourish. The nonwhite exodus from agriculture is largely explained by these developments. Also, many whites left cotton farms, particularly in east Texas.

Another factor in the population losses is the 30 percent decline in the number of farms which occurred during the 1950's because of farm enlargement and consolidation of commercial farms. The pronounced decline in noncommercial farms producing very little lies behind population declines in such places as Appalachia, the Ozarks, and southern Iowa.

For every family that left farming, another family may have left the same or an adjoining county because of volume losses in local retailing and other businesses serving farmers, despite increased sales of fertilizers, concentrates, and insecticides in connection with scientific advances in farming.[3] Increasing productivity and centralization of wholesaling and retailing in nearby counties which had larger population centers were also causes of job and population losses.

On the other hand, in outlying counties which have a population center of at least 10,000, industrialization has eased adjustment problems by creating new jobs near the homes of rural youth. But industrial expansion in these areas has not been nearly great enough to offset aggregate agricultural declines, so that net migration of youths from outlying areas is still necessary.

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[3] The judgments in this paragraph are based on (a) consideration of proportions of employment, in predominantly rural areas, in service activities and (b) local-multiplier studies from regional analysis not particularly concerned with agriculture. The decline of employment in agriculture has been the single most important impetus to net movements of people among areas within the United States for several decades. Yet there are almost no estimates of the overall effects of this kind of impetus. For one study see Bauder (1).

Unemployment at the national level has been adversely affecting many rural youths, particularly because of their lower levels of education and lack of job skills. In times of slack demand, employers, including farmers, lay off the least experienced and least valuable workers. As demand and production pick up, these workers are hired last. Unfortunately, many rural youths just coming into the labor force have precisely the characteristics that make them hired-last workers.

Just as some rural youths are marginal in the labor force, many rural areas are marginal as plant sites, as implied in the foregoing analysis of manufacturing location. Any new growth point tends to be marginal if growth slows, particularly the more remote places where growth forces are weakest. Growth and relocation to outlying areas will be gradual until demand catches up with existing excess capacity of plant and equipment.

THE EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK

Manpower projections prepared by the Department of Labor indicate continued dramatic changes in the industrial and occupational distribution of employment (10). Total employment, it is anticipated, will rise nearly 14 million, or about 20 percent, during the 1960's. A further increase of 7 million would raise the 1975 total more than 30 percent above the 1960 level.

Employment on farms is expected to decline further under the impact of rising productivity and a continuing drop in the number of farms, particularly small, low income units. The employment decrease is expected to average 150,000 (or about 2 percent) a year during the 1960's compared with 200,000 annually during the postwar period. By 1975, it is estimated that less than 1 of every 20 American workers will be employed on a farm.

Among nonagricultural industries, those furnishing services are expected to continue to grow much more rapidly in employment than those producing goods. Wage and salary employment in the service industries is expected to increase by almost 45 percent between 1960 and 1975. On the other hand, most goods-producing industries are expected to increase much more moderately—only about two-thirds of the overall rate of 37 percent anticipated for payroll employment.

Within manufacturing, where comparatively modest growth is anticipated, employment trends will differ significantly, with substantial growth indicated in technical and scientific industries. For manufacturing as a whole, the major employment increases will continue to be among white-collar workers—professional, administrative, clerical, and sales.

These industrial trends suggest the following developments in occupational employment levels to 1975 (10):

1. A continuation of the relatively rapid growth of white-collar occupations.
2. A slower growth in blue-collar occupations as a group.
3. A faster than average growth in service-worker employment.
4. A further decline in the number of farmers and farm laborers.

The fastest growing occupations will continue to be the professional and technical positions—especially engineers, scientists, and technicians—and the clerical and sales occupations. Among manual occupations, only the most skilled groups (craftsmen, foremen, etc.) will expand as rapidly as total employment. The number of semiskilled jobs is expected to increase at two-thirds the rate of growth of total employment, and the number of unskilled jobs will remain about the same, continuing a long-term relative decline.

The manpower for these new jobs will come largely from a tremendous surge of new young workers—the result of the high birth rates of the immediate post-World War II years. In total, some 26 million new young workers are expected to enter the labor force during the sixties. Between 1960 and 1970, the number of young persons aged 14–24 in the labor force is expected to increase by over 6 million—a rate of increase 15 times as great as occurred in the 1950's (9).

The rising tide of new young workers is expected to reach a crest in just the next few years. The number of young people reaching 18 each year, ready to enter the labor force or go on to college, will total about 3.8 million in 1965, an increase of 50 percent over 1960. In the late 1960's, 3 million new young workers will enter the labor force each year, compared with 2 million a year who started their work careers at the beginning of the decade.

About three-quarters of these new entrants during the 1960's are expected to have a high school education or less; about 7.5 million of them, or about 30 percent, will not have completed high school (7).

THE GEOGRAPHY OF FUTURE EMPLOYMENT

The problem of providing employment for the large number of workers entering the labor market—or shifting from farm to nonfarm work—will be particularly severe in certain States. According to estimates of the labor force by the Department of Labor, the growth between 1960 and 1965 in the number of teenagers in the work force in 11 States will exceed the total increase in nonagricultural employment which occurred between 1957 and 1962 in each of these States. (The States are: Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Kansas, Delaware, Louisiana, and Montana.) In a 12th State, West Virginia, the number of teenagers in the labor force is expected to decline slightly between 1960 and 1965. However, the number of nonagricultural jobs in this State actually dropped by 70,000 between 1957 and 1962 (7).

The Labor Department projections on a State basis cover only the labor force, not employment *per se.* The labor force figures for 1970 imply, however, that employment will continue to increase at above average rates in the South Atlantic, Mountain, and Pacific regions, with the New England, Middle Atlantic, West North Central, and East South Central regions experiencing much slower growth.

This interpretation is supported by the National Planning Association which looks for a continuation of the relative shifts of employment among regions that have been occurring in the last few years (11).

The continued decline in agricultural employment will contribute to population losses in rural areas, especially the more remote ones. Release of labor from farms is the chief source of abundant labor supplies which have been attracting industries to some outlying regions. The South, as we have seen, not only has had the largest declines in agricultural employment, but also the largest increases in nonagricultural employment in outlying areas.

Another study projected a 30 percent decline in man-hours used in farming between 1960 and 1970 (3), accompanied by a 2-million net migration of all farm males 5 years old and over in 1960. It was estimated that only 3 out of 5 farm males in 1960 who survive to 1970 will then be on farms.

As in the past, the migration will be heavily concentrated among farm youth. For farm males 15–24 years old, it was concluded that:

> in the North Central and Northeast less than one-half of the surviving farm males 15–24 years old in 1960 might be expected to remain in the farm population over the next 10 years. By the same logic, for the West, 1 of 3 may remain. The ratio for southern whites is 1 in 5. The extreme is found for southern nonwhites, only 1 in 16 of whom are expected to remain in the farm population (3, pp. 15–16).

The projection of total off-farm migration for the 1960's assumes that approximately the same number of females will migrate from farms as males, and, in line with the earlier discussion, that off-farm migration induces about an equal amount of additional population decline in the same or neighboring counties. On this assumption, the estimated off-farm migration of 2 million farm males in the 1960–70 decade will tend to deplete the rural population by 8 million persons. If not offset by expansion in nonagricultural employment, there would be a 15 percent decline in the rural population.

The South, where there were net losses of population from outlying areas during the 1950's, may come closer in the present decade to offsetting rural losses due to agriculture by growth in rural areas adjacent to urban centers. Agricultural losses are expected to be smaller (in absolute numbers) than in the fifties, and the urban-oriented growth in 1960 started from a larger base, with prospects for at least as much momentum as occurred in the fifties.

Labor force growth in some of the smaller outlying centers which have had industrialization may extend growth-inducing forces to places even more remote from the large metropolitan centers. Nevertheless, the estimated depletion of rural population due to decline of agricultural employment will impinge more heavily on outlying areas than elsewhere. The prospective agricultural decline will still be large enough to ensure that substantial population declines will continue to occur in remote areas.

IMPLICATIONS

Essentially, the impact of the prospective trends in employment is that a successful job career for new workers, urban and rural alike, and for workers displaced by technological change, including farmers, will require a high degree of mobility. But willingness to move will not be enough. It must be coupled both with knowledge of where jobs are located and with the education and training needed to qualify for new fields of work.

Virtually all of the foreseeable employment trends underline the need for increased education for all young people entering the labor force. In addition, these trends emphasize the urgent need for programs of vocational training tied more closely to current and future manpower requirements for new labor force entrants, as well as programs of retraining to meet ever-changing industrial and technological manpower requirements.

The implications of these occupational trends for workers with inadequate education and training are already dramatically visible in the unemployment data for recent years. Among all groups with high unemployment rates, including young workers, older workers, and nonwhite workers, the absence of education and occupational skills looms large in their employment difficulties.

At the same time that large numbers of workers have been unemployed, job openings have remained unfilled for lack of workers trained in required skills. Demand for personnel has been strongest in professional and technical fields, but shortages exist in many occupations in other white-collar, and in service and in skilled production categories. And, within each of these broad occupational groups, the trend has been toward employment of workers at the top of the skill range of the occupation and less opportunity for workers with minimum qualifications.

The impact of the relative decline in these jobs has already been reflected in an increasing concentration of unemployment among unskilled workers, particularly affecting young people.

Of course, a relatively high unemployment rate for young workers is not a new phenomenon in this country, even in years of high employment. A very large proportion of new entrants into the labor market have a period of unemployment associated with "shopping around" for a job. Often they hold part-time jobs which are sporadic and occasional. Young people also tend to change their jobs more frequently than older persons as they seek the "right" job. Moreover, young workers starting out on their working careers tend to be relatively vulnerable to layoffs because of lack of seniority and inexperience.

As a result, high rates of unemployment for young workers have often been accepted as an inevitable byproduct of a free market economy. However, in nations such as Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries, the rate of unemployment for young workers does not appear to be substantially higher than for adults. When adjusted for comparability, the unemployment rate for 15–19 year olds in Great Britain is one-fourth to one-fifth the rate for the same group in the United States (14). Intensive studies of these foreign labor markets have shown that lower unemployment rates may be achieved through adequate programs for vocational guidance, training, and placement of youth.

The problems for the rural youngster entering the labor force are even greater than for his urban counterpart, generally involving, in addition to other difficulties, migration to another community and environment. There has been some growth of employment opportunities in rural areas, both nonagricultural industries and in activities related to agriculture, including those that process, distribute, or transport farm products and farm supplies. But the occupations involved are not those for which farm youth have generally been trained. The result is reflected in an incidence of unemployment for rural youths substantially higher than for young people born and raised in urban areas. Studies have shown that farm and rural-reared youth who have migrated to urban areas have been generally less successful occupationally than urban-reared persons; farm-reared workers change jobs more frequently, have lower incomes, and are more often found in unskilled and semiskilled jobs (4).

Part of the explanation for these differences lies in the fact that rural youth have, on the average, fewer years of formal education than urban youth. We have already seen what this means in terms of occupational status and unemployment. Moreover, studies have shown, to an alarming degree, unrealism in the occupational expectations of rural youth which undoubtedly reflects inadequate or complete lack of competent vocational guidance (5).

In the face of developing employment trends which emphasize ever-increasing demands for education and skill training, rural youths are facing a continuing disadvantaged position in the rural or the urban labor market unless a major improvement is forthcoming in the quality and quantity of their education, vocational guidance, and vocational training.

The imperative in the employment outlook for all young people is the anticipation that economic growth will accelerate, reducing the overall unemployment rate. For rural youths in particular, such a development could alleviate employment problems by stimulating local economic development.

Here, too, education can play a role. A well-educated labor supply attracts industry. Educational programs aiming at local development might do best to concentrate on vocational training not oriented primarily to preparation for agriculture-related industries, where the expansion in the number of jobs has been small in relation to the number of migrants leaving farms (3, pp. 17–19). Vocational training for a variety of nonagricultural jobs can attract employers because of its potential for savings in the cost of labor turnover and on-the-job training. In the longer run, education will foster a progressive outlook conducive to community decisions favoring economic development.

The analysis of extending growth to outlying areas also suggests the importance of roads to local development. Here is a policy focus that remains untapped.

Recent employment trends suggest that the effectiveness of rural development programs could be increased by greater selectivity. This would exclude places that will develop without aid because they are already urban-oriented. But there is need to identify those remote areas which are in danger of losing productive labor pools because they lack nonagricultural opportunities. A major aim of rural development could be to reduce impediments to development of such areas. Loans and the other tools of present programs need to be supplemented by the policies already suggested.

The recommendation to concentrate area development efforts in the economically viable communities should not be taken as a recommendation to forget communities which are already essentially drained of productive population or have no hope of avoiding such a development. Their most telltale characteristic is the inward-cupping of the population distribution brought about by outmigration of persons aged 18–40. The relative financial burden of relief is great because the unproductive are left, and the tax base to support education of the young is relatively low. These communities should be recognized as needing special relief and educational aid. The people left are for the most part victims of adjustments associated with great agricultural progress, and neither justice nor productivity considerations favor letting them, particularly the children, get further out of the mainstream of American living. Such a policy would merely recognize that the several distinctly different types of rural areas each calls for a separate set of policies.

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Chapter 19

Urban Migration of Rural Youth: Related Factors, Personal Adjustments, and Urban Assimilation

Prepared by Gladys K. Bowles, B.S., Head, Farm Manpower Section, Farm Population Branch, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Based on

Rural Inmigration and Urban Assimilation

Mel Ravitz, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Wayne State University.

Factors Related to the Migration of Rural Youth to Urban Areas

George L. Wilber, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology, Mississippi State University.

Adjustments of Rural-Reared Young Adults in Urban Areas

Ward W. Bauder, Ph.D., Social Science Analyst, Farm Population Branch, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Lee G. Burchinal, Ph.D., Deputy Director, Division of Educational Research, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Migration of youth and young adults from rural to urban areas has been a part of the national scene for a long time, but the nearly simultaneous closing of the frontier and restriction of immigration in the early decades of this century greatly increased the importance of rural-urban migration in the growth of our cities. More recently, a rapid rise of labor efficiency in agriculture has greatly reduced farm labor needs and added an important "push" element to the rural-urban migration stream. In the 52 years, 1910–62, over 33 million more people moved from American farms than moved to them or whose residences were reclassified as nonfarm. As a consequence, the number of farm-reared persons in the nonfarm population exceeded the population remaining on farms and made up one-third of the total nonfarm population at the end of the period. At the time they moved, the bulk of these persons were youths or young adults. Not all of them went directly to urban places; about 40 percent stopped in small towns and villages, and those who did go to urban places concentrated more in small cities than in large metropolitan centers. Nevertheless, an estimated third or more were in metropolitan centers at the end of the period.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine factors related to the migration of rural youth to urban places, describe the types of social and occupational adjustments these young adults make in urban life, and explore the problems and avenues of their assimilation into urban society.

FACTORS RELATED TO THE MIGRATION OF RURAL YOUTH TO CITIES

There is no simple straightforward explanation of migration. The complex and rapidly changing nature of our American society makes the task of explaining migration—or any other social phenomenon—difficult. Human behavior is complicated, even in a relatively static society, and in our society where individuals are essentially free to make their own decisions to move without formal or governmental controls, the reasons for moving are many and diverse.

From among the many interrelated factors that push rural youth from their homes and pull them toward cities, four major perspectives are discussed briefly: (a) the role of social norms, and personal aspirations in determining migration, (b) demographic and ecological factors, (c) social and economic factors, and (d) family and community factors.

Social Norms and Personal Aspirations of Rural Youth

Most rural youths have the same kinds of aspirations and ambitions as their urban counterparts. Perhaps the desire to become even more "urbanized" is a major reason for much of the migration of rural youth.

The discrepancy between what a rural youth has and what he aspires to can lead easily to dissatisfaction and frustration. A possible solution—although no guarantee—is to move to the city. Although rural youth are interested in getting jobs, the interests are not in just any job, but rather in the higher prestige jobs, doctor, dentist, toolmaker, carpenter, and so on. The fact that the most highly valued jobs are typically found in urban areas provides a powerful source of motivation for many young people to move to cities: first, to obtain the education necessary for the job and then to get the job.

He also may move to the city because recreation and sports, theaters, museums, restaurants, retail stores, and the like are available in greater variety and numbers.

Even the youth with less urban-oriented aspirations may find himself compelled to move. With dim prospects of buying his own farm, with increased use of farm machinery reducing the demand for his labor, and with many of his peers moving off to the city, a young person may feel that the best solution is to move to the city as well. Not that he has a strong desire to do so, but because he feels that in order to maintain his economic position, his friends, his life chances, etc., he must move.

Population Pressure

Population analysts stress the importance of environmental and communal factors, especially overpopulation, in determining migration. Overpopulation refers to the relation of numbers of people to opportunities and facilities in an area, and as such is highly relative and likely to change quickly. Overpopulation is defined sometimes as too many persons for the jobs available. But for overpopulation to work effectively as a stimulus, there must be a condition of underpopulation in some alternative place. Also and perhaps more important, there must be knowledge of opportunities in alternative areas of residence. Such knowledge presumes effective and accurate communication.

Birth rates are commonly high in areas of greatest population pressure, which brings even greater pressure to bear on limited resources. In the past, cities and metropolitan areas have supplied sufficient opportunities to help siphon off what otherwise might be a surplus rural population, but they are increasingly less able to absorb large masses of inmigrants, especially those who are poorly educated. Still, persisting higher rural than urban birth rates help contribute to rural population pressures.

Social and Economic Conditions

A vast array of closely related factors may be included in the social and economic conditions that influence migration. Conditions of employment, industrialization, technology, housing, and wage rates are related to migration rates. Migrants differ from nonmigrants as to age, sex, marital status, education, income, employment, and color. Shifting demands for labor in various localities and ups and downs of the business cycle have been accompanied by shifting patterns of migration. Space does not allow listing all of the possibilities and treating them systematically. While it is clear that numerous social and economic factors are related to migration, the precise role of each factor and their combined influences on migration are not so clear.

Studies of net migration in the North Central States (6) have stressed the relationship between both agricultural and industrial factors and migration. Among the factors contributing to departures from farms and rural areas are (a) a reduction in the number of farms, (b) an increase in farm mechanization, (c) a reduction in the use of hired labor on farms, (d) an increase in farm production, and (e) change in farm levels of living. The trend in each of these instances is clearly established and promises to continue indefinitely. Each of the first four contribute to outmigration, and counties with low and declining levels of living suffered most from outmigration.

In contrast, areas with heavy concentrations of manufacturing industry either retain their population or attract new migrants. Conversely, areas lacking in nonagricultural industry also lack this attracting or holding power.

Social Status and Social Mobility

Recent studies in Indiana include some of the more clear-cut efforts to relate mobility and migration (8). Job mobility and migration were compared in both high and low income rural communities. In general it appeared that dual mobility—job or status and residential—was higher among younger persons (31–42 years of age) and those with a college education. Dual mobility also seemed to depend on status level—i.e., high status persons were more often both job mobile and migrant. The results of this study are not conclusive and rural youth themselves were not subject to analysis. Therefore, the fairly strong prospect of social status and social mobility being important to migration must await the affirmation of additional research.

Family and Community Factors

In the first place, a youth's "definition of the situation" can have a strong influence on his decision to move. The term situation refers here primarily to a youth's family and his relationships with his family. A youngster may see his family as burdened by excessive poverty, disrupted by bickering and strife, or as overly protective. Regardless of the circumstances or the reasons behind them, a teenage youth may feel completely justified—even compelled—to leave his parental home. In contrast, the family situation may be so defined that it exerts a powerful restraining force. A youngster who feels highly dependent upon his family, who is extremely happy and contented with his family, or who feels a strong sense of obligation for a family that he sees as dependent upon him, also may feel constrained to remain with his family.

Secondly, strong family cohesion may deter migration from rural areas. Although cohesion of a family is most apparent during times of crisis, such as death, illness, or unemployment in the family, cohesion expresses itself in countless ways in the daily routine of a family—in working, playing, and living together. Historically, rural families are more tightly bound together by cohesion than are urban families, but as the American family system undergoes changes, it is possible that the influence of cohesion may shift in the direction of encouraging or permitting migration, without a sacrifice in family cohesion. Litwak, for example, suggests that extended family relations can be maintained despite migration because (a) institutional pressures force the family to legitimize migration, (b) technological improvements in communication have minimized the disruptive forces of distance, and (c) an extended family can provide help to nuclear families without interfering with the occupational system (7, 14, 15).

Intertwined with family cohesion and a youth's definition of his family situation is the fact that the family serves as a source of stimulation, incentive, or motivation. Parents are instrumental in helping incite a child to be ambitious, to better himself. The particular nature and levels of aspiration instilled in the child in turn help determine whether he must migrate and where he must be to seek satisfaction for such goals as education, occupation, and income.

Lastly, characteristics of the communities within which rural youths live influence migration rates. A number of aspects of the community must be taken into account—the popularity of the community, availability of various facilities, geographical location, and prospects for growth and prosperity. The continuous volume of migration from rural communities suggests a lack of popularity for the rural as compared with the urban community. A small and diminishing number of persons still feel that farm work and life in a rural community are the most desirable, but in so doing they run counter to major societal trends.

Closely related to the desirability or popularity of the rural community is the question of community resources and facilities. No small town or hamlet can possibly provide the range and depth of services found in larger metropolitan areas. Some of the more essential and general services—schools, churches, stores, and community hospital—may be conveniently accessible, but for an art school, a furrier, or a pediatrician the rural resident most likely will have to travel to some urban center. Many rural communities have tried to fill the void by organizing various clubs and associations. Again, of course, it is the judgment of rural youth which is decisive in determining whether a given community's facilities are adequate or not in relation to alternatives elsewhere.

Accessibility of larger towns and cities in terms of time and distance is an important factor in migration. Young people in rural Pennsylvania, for example, have not migrated in expected numbers, possibly because they were located conveniently to sources of employment and because of the lengthening commuting radius afforded by improved roads (3).

PERSONAL ADJUSTMENTS TO URBAN LIFE

Adjustment is viewed as problem-solving behavior brought about by differences between one's expectations regarding the behavior of others and the others' expectations regarding the self. These expectations are based on values; ideas of what is right, proper or good in and of itself; and become expressed in actual behavior through social roles—behavior that conforms to what generally is expected in a given social situation.

Adjustment may occur in various areas of life's activities: in occupational roles, family roles, community roles, all of which require adjustments to other people, and in behavior toward the physical environment—buildings, machines, trees, grass, and even the weather.

This section focuses on the personal adjustments (in the aggregate) of rural migrants to urban areas in three major activities—occupational, family, and community roles.

Occupational Achievement and Economic Status

In a complex industrial society, social status or rank is largely, though not solely, dependent upon occupation. This is true because a major element in social mobility results from the distribution of rewards for talent and training. Industrial societies make extensive use of occupational talents and training in the distribution of rewards.

How successful are rural migrants to the city in occupational and economic activity?

Six independent studies using somewhat different procedures in identifying respondents and in analyzing data on the experiences of migrants in cities scattered from Delaware to California provide some evidence (1, 2, 4, 7, 11, 16). In five the conclusion was reached that the groups under study had less successful occupational achievement patterns than their urban-reared counterparts, and in one, which had some ethnic aspects, this relationship was not found.

Further evidence is available from a nationwide sample study and from census data.

As part of an investigation of the 1952 election, the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan, obtained information on occupational and residential experiences of a national sample of 1,887 adults. Analysis of these data added support to the majority opinion of the independent city samples. One-third of the nonfarm adults in the sample were farm-reared. In contrast to the nonfarm-reared, these persons were underrepresented in high prestige occupations such as professional and semiprofessional and were overrepresented in unskilled or service occupations. Also, the proportion of farm-reared with family incomes of less than $2,000 was nearly three times the proportion of nonfarm-reared with family incomes that low (5).

The 1950 census data show that persons moving within the nonfarm sector were more concentrated in the higher paying and higher status occupations than were persons who moved from the farm to nonfarm sector.

Factors Influencing Occupational Achievement

The bulk of the evidence supports the generalization that, on the average, rural-reared migrants to the city are less successful than urban-reared persons in achieving higher occupational status. What factors influence occupational achievement? Probably most important among the various factors which are influential, three are most significant: (a) age at time of migration and time in the urban labor force, (b) basic knowledge and skill levels, (c) and kinds and sources of knowledge about urban employment opportunities and urban life.

Considerable agreement exists among the results of the various studies reviewed. However, there is also ample evidence of the importance of special circumstances, either in the community of origin or in the community of destination, that must be considered in assessing the findings. For example, regional and racial characteristics are related to the adjustment processes encountered by rural persons in the city. Differences in occupational structures existing among cities may also be associated with different degrees and ease of adjustment of rural migrants.

Since the age structure of a migrant population may vary from city to city in accordance with the type of labor demanded and the rate of growth produced by inmigration, it is important to consider age in comparing the occupational achievement of different classes of migrants.

Several studies have indicated that adjustment increases with time lived in the city (2, 9), but there is no substantial evidence that these rates are more or less rapid for rural-reared than for urban-reared migrants entering the urban occupational structure at the same level.

Using a manual-nonmanual dichotomy for occupations, Lipset (7) reported that when amount of education was held constant, much of the difference between rural migrants and urban-reared persons in occupational achievement was accounted for; however, the superiority of the urban-reared was still evident. Similar results were obtained with the data from Cedar Rapids, Iowa (4), but in the Des Moines study (1), carefully controlled analysis indicated that age and educational level explained all significant differences in occupational achievement among men in the farm-Des Moines, urban-Des Moines, and always-Des Moines samples. Of the three variables tested, age was less closely related to occupational achievement than was education. This more detailed analysis showed that occupational-achievement differences originally thought to be related to the community backgrounds of the men were, in fact, due to differences in education and age.

Farm-reared migrants with sufficient education enjoy reasonable occupational mobility. They are able to start on about the same level and go about as far as their urban counterparts with similar education, at least this has been the situation in Des Moines. Nevertheless, data on upward occupational mobility, as measured by trends in status levels from the first job after marriage to present job, reveal greater upward mobility among urban migrants. The greater mobility of urban migrants was due primarily to their higher levels of education.

Economists have emphasized the importance of information about jobs in the functioning of the labor market. Smith found major differences in the sources and kinds of information about the urban labor market and living conditions in Indianapolis among three groups of farm-reared workers. Two groups were from the South, one white and one Negro, whereas the third included only northern whites (13). All three groups relied heavily on friends and relatives for job information, but, of the three, northern whites made greater use of mass media. Although the bulk of the information was rather general and nonspecific, the information acquired by the northern whites was by far the most specific.

Urban migrants to Wilmington, Del., tended to migrate through a relatively impersonal sort of contact (notably through the labor market) and to bring with them a significant amount of knowledge about cities in general and Wilmington in particular, while rural migrants were more likely to rely on personal ties and to bring little knowledge of the city with them. In migrating, the urban group retained much of its way of life, even if it cut many of its personal ties, while the rural group retained personal ties, even if it changed much of its way of life (16).

Community and Family Relationships

Although adjustment of occupational roles is of central importance in assimilating to urban life, other areas of social and community relationships also are important. Some of these are less visible and more difficult to measure; consequently, empirical evidence is less widely available. However, some studies of urban adjustments among rural migrants have included information on social participation as a measure of the individual's involvement in group life.

In summary, these studies (1, 2, 5, 7, 16, 17) have indicated that, in general, rural migrants generally participate less fully in formal social organizations than do urban migrants or persons who have always lived in the city under study, but most of these differences are explained by a third factor, socioeconomic status. The tendency of inmigrants to cling to relationships already established with friends and relatives who preceded or followed them to the city, may help cushion the shock of adjustment for the migrants, but it also may delay ultimate adjustment. The opportunity to transfer much of their way of life intact to the urban scene may help explain the persistence of lower educational and occupational aspiration levels.

The difficulty of adjusting to urban social participation patterns varies with different associations. Rural-reared migrants, particularly the farm-reared, likely will have had less experience with formal voluntary organizations than the urban-reared; also, integration into urban social organizations will be easier in those activities for which a farm background provides the most training and experience and hardest in those areas for which it provides the least training and experience.

Informal social participation appears to vary with length of time in the city. Several studies (1, 12, 17) have shown that natives were more extensively involved with friends and relatives and in mutual aid relationships than were migrants, whether they had come from farm or urban backgrounds.

Usually, marked increases in contact with kin occurred over time, and consequently, differences in kinship association between natives and migrants tend to diminish with the length of time that the migrant spends in the city. As another study (16) showed, older migrants were more likely to have kin present in the city than were newer migrants. This follow-the-leader (relative) pattern, with resulting more recent inmigration of new relatives, provides further support for Litwak's suggestion that while the short-run effect of mobility is to disperse kin groups, families maintain ties and, in the long run, reconsolidate.

What is the effect of kinship ties on adjustment to urban life? Kinship ties are important in the decision to move and, no doubt, are useful at least in the initial stages of adjustment to the city, but what is their overall effect on adjustment? Rose and Warshay (10) found that migrants with already existing primary group contacts in the new community are more likely to remain isolated from the rest of the community and to remain isolated longer than migrants without such contacts. Contrary to their expectations, migrants with already existing primary group contacts in the new community reported greater dissatisfaction with life, greater distrust, and less sympathy for other people. Rural-urban differences in migrants' backgrounds were related less to these measures of adjustment than was the presence in the new community of relatives and friends.

Migrants' Perception of Their Situation

If the rural-migrant to the city is as deprived of many of the more visible marks of successful adjustment to urban life, notably occupational achievement, as he is sometimes pictured to be, he is often blissfully unaware of it.

Most measures of adjustment are urban-oriented: they rank performance in occupational or organizational activity in terms of urban standards, but the rural-reared migrant has two standards available to him; the urban standard and the standard of his rural community of orientation. He may not, therefore, fully accept the urban standard in evaluating his own performance. In fact, by urban standards, he may be relatively unsuccessful in his occupational pursuit and associated income and material benefits, but from a rural frame of reference, he may have improved his lot immensely.

Farm-reared migrants, like urban-reared migrants, move primarily for economic reasons, and the majority report that their economic position has improved in many ways as a result of moving (1, 11). These ways included having a better job with more regular hours, higher pay or better working conditions, having more friends, having a better social life, having better schools for their children, and feeling more settled. Many reported having better living conditions or a nicer home. On the other hand, farm-migrant wives often disliked the traffic congestion, dirt, noise and pace of city life, or complained of an unfriendly atmosphere, not feeling safe, poor recreational facilities, difficulties in rearing children, husbands being dissatisfied with their work, children's unhappiness at school or that the families just did not like the city.

Although many migrants probably feel they have moved up the social status scale, they (particularly the farm-reared) often seem to be aware of their lower social status relative to other residents. Such status differences were closely associated with educational and occupational achievement. Persons with higher educational and occupational status identified themselves as having higher social position; conversely, those with lower educational and occupational status viewed themselves as having lower social position (1).

ASSIMILATION OF RURAL MIGRANTS WITHIN URBAN SOCIETY

Adaptation to a new and different environment involves changes in individual behavior. To the individual this is a psychological process, but in the aggregate the adaptation of a group of individuals to new social systems based on different values and roles involves the sociocultural process of assimilation. This section deals with the assimilation of rural migrants within urban society.

The basic instruments of successful assimilation are three: education, assistance, and involvement. And the greatest of these is education. None will deny that the most important tool in the assimilation of the foreign born a generation and more ago was the several educational agencies that were made available.

Their assimilation was achieved without insisting that every newcomer pass through the "melting pot" and emerge with standardized beliefs, customs, and behavior. It was done with a deep appreciation that social diversity—cultural pluralism—was the true basis of heterogeneous American life. The principle was accepted that people may retain many of their own cultural patterns and still be regarded as loyal, contributing members of the society. It was even implied that American society would face grave danger if this cultural pluralism disappeared and the mass culture of the emerging society smashed all diversity before it to produce a low level cultural monotony.

Notwithstanding this belief in cultural pluralism, at this point, it is appropriate to suggest a basic principle of social interaction: if, in any community, two culturally different people meet on a continuing basis, community integration requires one or the other of these people to attempt at least the partial assimilation of the other. As a corollary principle, it may be suggested that the group that is numerically, educationally, politically, and economically superior will try to assimilate the other group.

Education

The public schools must bear the brunt of the assimilation burden. Again the resources must be mustered to work with both the adults and especially the children who need help in becoming more urban in their aspirations, values, attitudes, and daily behavior. Certainly, no one seriously believes that the assimilation of hundreds of thousands of people culturally different can occur quickly or easily. It took a long time to produce the rural lower class now residing in our core cities, and it may take even longer to resocialize them to function adequately in their new complex urban environment.

It should be kept in mind that the children we are referring to below—disadvantaged rural background children who live in the depressed core of the city—have the same intellectual potential as other normal children. If they were given the experiences that would encourage them to want to learn the ways of the urban world, and if they were carefully and devotedly taught by able teachers who believed in their potential and sought to release it through all the means of excellent education.

One specific place to begin is the school building itself which to many people represents what the community is and can become. In the depressed and corroded core of many of our cities, there remains a number of physically inadequate schools. Yet, even in such neighborhoods the school is one building viewed with some community pride.

Although it may be a small point, it is a significant fact that the image of the school is too feminine—it is a world dominated by women, particularly at the elementary level. A lessening of this image would doubly benefit children: (a) the school itself would assume higher prestige in the eyes of rural residents who view male participation as an indication of importance; (b) the children, both boys and girls, would have some additional desirable male models to help them to develop their personalities.

A curious social psychological obstacle confronting rural lower class children is the unreality of the textbook world they are expected to explore and understand. The usual texts draw their characters, language, attitudes, and values from the world of the white, urban middle class. Such a world is an unreal one for most lower class, rural children, whether Negro or white, but more so for Negro children.

Major stress is placed upon the school to broaden the horizons of children because often rural parents are unable to do very much themselves to enrich their children's experience. The school is the one agency that touches all children and it must be used for this enrichment purpose.

Another aspect of what some have come to call "compensatory education" is free summer school. In many communities tradition restricts summer school only to those children who can afford it. Though the fee is small, it is sufficient to keep many children from attending. And it is these children who frequently need to make up work, improve their background, and to secure enrichment. During the summer, as well as during the other seasons of the year, the school can be a valuable instrument to help disadvantaged children glimpse the better world that can possibly be theirs.

The key figure in the entire educational process, however, is the teacher. Good teachers can work miracles with children coming from any background; poor or uninterested teachers never seem to succeed, even with children of good backgrounds.

While it is, of course, a cliche to speak of greater individualized student attention, obviously this is not easy to achieve in crowded, often inadequate, urban schools. If this individualized teaching of rural, lower class children is to occur, then school boards will have to make that a basic policy decision and citizens will have to support it in tangible financial ways.

One such way will be to provide sufficient teachers and counselors so that individual attention is really possible. Another way will be to provide special coaching teachers, particularly in the critical areas of reading, speech, and abstract skills. Every effort should, of course, be made to encourage the very best teachers in the school system to volunteer for the difficult assignments of teaching these culturally different children. In this segment of the city especially, emotionally disturbed or mentally defective children would be removed from normal classrooms and provided adequate facilities elsewhere. Certainly, the task of carrying out the teaching-learning process with educationally disadvantaged children is great enough without further complicating the matter with children who deserve to have appropriate therapeutic facilities to correct their mental or emotional ailments.

Another approach the school should take in rural resident areas is to assign a trained community organization person to work with the parents of school children. Anything that can be done to improve the parents' understanding of what the child is learning and why, every avenue that can help involve the parents in strengthening their own concern with education and development of the community should redound to the advantage of the child in the classroom. Certainly, it is not far-fetched to establish the kind of adult education the parents themselves want and need. In so may instances what is most lacking in the child's approach to education is an appreciation that education is the basic instrument for survival, let alone, success in today's complex, specialized urban world. What better way to help change the child's perception of education than by working with parents in a meaningful program of adult education?

Assistance

Even with the accomplishment of all the educational goals elaborated above, it is still a gamble whether these children can be assimilated. Indeed, there is no clear certainty that any community is really committed to assimilating them. If it were, then that community would be interested not only in taking major steps to improve its schooling, but it would also be concerned with the quality of their housing and their neighborhoods; it would be determined to do something constructive and comprehensive about the fundamental economic, educational, and psychological plight of their parents. So long as these people live in poverty, at the margin of despair, and in a community that has fewer and fewer jobs for the unskilled, so long will the task of assimilation be retarded. If these rural newcomer parents can be effectively trained and related through the job to the main axis of an industrial community, then there is hope of speedy assimilation of both them and their children. If it is not possible to make the fundamental necessary changes in the economic structure to admit these able-bodied men to the world of productive work, then it is probable that much that may be done for their children will be wasted. The basic issue is the assimilation of a whole category of people; those who attempt to do so must want to assimilate them without destroying the cultural dimensions they can contribute.

To say that one wants to assimilate people without supporting that statement with community funds and action will be simply to disillusion those who are not already disillusioned. If urban residents are truly concerned about crime and delinquency in their community, if they are serious about their intention to produce skilled scientists and technicians for societal survival, if they want a peaceful, integrated community with well-trained and concerned citizens, then they must understand that the small price to be paid is that of more than ordinary education, assistance and involvement of the disadvantaged population of the city.

Involvement

The third instrument to encourage assimilation is involvement of the people affected. It is essential to realize that as efforts are made to aid these people to attain urban and middle class values and attitudes, they cannot be told unilaterally what they must do. To be sure, they have problems, but they also have pride, and both their problems and their pride must be appreciated if the sensitive job of helping them become contributing citizens of a democratic community is to be done.

A basic structural development any governmental agency or a Board of Education might well make is to establish a network of community councils. Each appropriately-sized district should have such a community council composed of people who live and work in the area. Such an organizational structure would make clear to the people that their advice, suggestions, and ideas are actively sought. It would offer the opportunity for effective two-way communication between citizens of a community and their schools and agencies. Problems of the people could be taken to the community council; school or agency-related problems would be referred to school personnel or the personnel of appropriate agencies. Most important, the means of reaching the people and securing their participation would exist.

Indeed, before any attempt is made to modify curricula or make any policy changes in school administration, it is elementary wisdom to establish such a citizen council and to work with and through it for the benefit of the total community. Though there are some technical aspects of education, social work, planning, and government which cannot be submitted to citizen vote, there are other aspects about which organized citizens can react intelligently and meaningfully, and their invited participation from the beginning can spell the difference between success and failure of new proposals. To facilitate cultural assimilation and to teach the democratic process, there is no action more fundamental nor more immediately necessary than the creation of a genuine community council.

These comments outline the broad dimensions of an important community problem facing American cities and schools. It is nothing less than the problem of cultural assimilation on a large scale. It is a profound problem affecting many aspects of urban life: education, housing, family life, employment, and ultimately the very cohesion of the community itself. It is a problem that will not be solved by speeches, slogans, or gimmicks. Its solution requires some genuine perception of the scope and depth of the problem, as well as the intelligent and imaginative use of the instruments of education, assistance, and involvement. Failure to solve this problem will further divide each community and will leave it increasingly in the hands of those with the least knowledge of how to run it, because those with greater knowledge will seek more cohesive communities in which to work and live. Solution of the problem of assimilation will produce a stronger, healthier community with a justified pride in its concern for its most significant resource: the many millions of human beings who choose to live in them.

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Chapter 20

Community Experiences and Development of Rural Youth

Based on

Recreational and Social Services and Facilities

Joseph Prendergast, LL.D., Executive Director of the National Recreation Association.

Youth Organizations Other Than Churches

Roy Sorenson, LL.D., General Secretary, YMCA of San Francisco.

Functions of the Church in Serving Rural Youth in a Changing Environment

E. W. Mueller, B.D., Secretary for the Office of the Church in Town and Country, Division of American Missions of the National Lutheran Council.

Adult Education Programs and Parents' Roles in Career Plans of Rural Youth

Russell, G. Mawby, Ph.D., Assistant Director of the Cooperative Extension Service, Michigan State University.

Role of Industry and Business in Contributing to Rural Youth Development—Their Scope, Limitations and Future Needs

Henry R. Morris, B.S., District Manager, The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, San Francisco, California.

Many groups contribute to the development of children and youth. Chief among these are the family, schools, churches, and clubs and organizations, as well as experiences associated with work and recreation. Because school experiences occur in a formal structure and are focused on more specific objectives, rural educational programs are treated separately in another section. In this chapter, consideration is given to how family, church, club work, and recreational experiences presently influence and can contribute further to the development of rural children and youth.

THE FAMILY

Research reviewed elsewhere in this volume clearly shows that in comparison with urban youth, rural youth generally enter adolescence and early adulthood with decided educational and occupational disadvantages. Rural youth, relatively speaking, are handicapped by the lower socioeconomic status of their families and communities. In addition, rural parents unwittingly and too frequently add to the handicaps of their children.

Some evidence suggests that rural parents generally function less effectively as educational and occupational counselors than do their urban counterparts. In Iowa, for instance, urban boys more frequently reported that their parents discussed occupational plans with them than did farm, rural nonfarm, or smalltown boys (2). Differences in educational aspirations of rural and urban youth appear also to reflect parental influences. In Iowa (14) and elsewhere (3), farm boys less frequently indicated parental encouragement for college attendance than did rural-nonfarm and smalltown boys. Urban boys most frequently reported parental encouragement to attend college. An interesting and perhaps very useful finding from several studies is that mothers, regardless of residence area—farm, rural-nonfarm, or urban—generally have higher educational and occupational aspirations for their children than do fathers.

Plans and educational aspirations of sons and their parents for them, interact in a uniform fashion, and, too frequently, to the disadvantage of farm boys. Parents of boys planning to farm generally have relatively low aspiration levels in either education or nonfarm occupations for their sons. On the other hand, plans not to farm are usually related to parental encouragement to attend college or seek higher prestige nonfarm occupations. Again, nonfarm plans are related more frequently to higher educational and occupational aspirations held by mothers than fathers (3).

For boys planning to farm, fathers had the greatest influence in their career choice. Teachers, mothers, and others were less important. Boys planning nonfarm careers, however, reported that mothers, teachers, or vocational counselors were the most important influence (3).

Many factors, no doubt, combine to produce the rural-urban differences just described. Certainly involved are the limited experiences of many rural parents beyond their local communities, their circumscribed contacts with varied occupations, their insufficient information regarding occupational alternatives and requirements, and perhaps their inadequate appreciation for education in our modern society. Thus, the significant element may not be the rural-urban distinction, but rather the nature and extent of experiences and knowledge of parents, wherever their place of residence.

Programs of adult education represent one way in which parents can become more adequately equipped for their educational and occupational guidance role. In preparing his background paper, Mawby canvassed major organizations to determine the extent of parent or adult education programs that were focused on the special career problems of rural youth.

On the disturbing side, there was little evidence of wide or deep recognition of the special occupational problems of rural youth or awareness of the parents' role in educational and occupational plans of youth. On the constructive side, a few examples of parent education programs in career counseling were discovered. While not descriptive of the general situation, they do suggest possible courses of actions and are cited briefly for that purpose:

- In Michigan, one county 4–H Club agent has established an annual pattern of home visits with interested farm families to discuss educational and occupational plans. Parents, as well as youth, are involved in these family conferences. Individual personal followup, especially for youth planning to enter college, also is carried out.
- In several counties or rural communities, joint meetings of parents and youth have been conducted to provide information on college opportunities. Questions of the importance and benefits of higher education, entrance requirements, costs, scholarship and loan possibilities, and like concerns can be answered specifically. Such sessions have been sponsored individually or jointly by schools, farm organizations, and extension service.
- Individual local 4–H Clubs in an Iowa county had a special parents night when extension agents presented up-to-date career information of concern to rural youth. A particular emphasis of the series was to make parents aware of the realities of the situation confronting their sons and daughters and to provide information useful to them in decisions for action.
- In many situations, parents have been included in career day sessions, career tours, and career discussion programs designed for youth. Such programs have been conducted by farm organizations, schools, extension personnel, agencies, and others.
- Programs aimed at special groups, such as migrant families, often include a special appeal aimed at parental responsibility for their children's future. Church organizations and agencies have been especially conscious of such special needs.
- Some schools have included parents in the career counseling and guidance programs conducted with students. By personal involvement, parents have become better informed and therefore better able to function as counselors.
- A television series in the St. Louis area was designed for adults to provide information on career opportunities and considerations for youth. Discussion groups, coupled with an opportunity to telephone questions to the studio for answer, represented an unusual technique. While not directed to rural parents, it suggests an interesting approach.

Programs such as these represent a start in the needed direction, but much more is required. Further efforts are necessary to alert the entire rural community—elected officials, school administrators, farm and rural organizational leadership, agency representatives, parents—to the unpleasant aspects of educational, career, and migration choices of rural youth. Action can then follow.

Adult education is necessary to help rural parents understand the realities of occupational opportunities today, to appreciate the value of an education in our modern society, and to realize the importance of their role as educational and vocational counselors for their children. Aggressive and imaginative adult educational programs must be implemented to improve the effectiveness of rural parents in their educational guidance roles. Special projects now under way in Michigan and perhaps elsewhere, designed to explore the changing of aspirations of young people through parent education, may provide helpful guidance in such programing.

Finally, parents have responsibilities not only to their individual children but in the community as well. Many of the steps necessary to improvement of the occupational situation of rural youth will require adjusted and increased expenditures of funds for strengthened school curricula, vocational training courses, testing and counseling programs, expanded community programs like 4–H, information programs of employment services, and the like. To make available the necessary resources, an informed and responsive public will be necessary. Parents as a group with particularly keen and vested concerns, can be a crucial ingredient in securing such support.

Thus, adult education programs for parents should be designed to stimulate community as well as individual parental response.

THE CHURCH

Through congregations of the various American church bodies, the church is represented in rural communities throughout the Nation. Consequently, the church is in a relatively close geographical relationship to rural youth. The church can and does provide a lot of things for youth—special activities, a place to meet, recreational programs, etc. These things have worth and, as necessary, the church may provide them. However, these factors must not be permitted to detract from the primary responsibility of the church to youth. The primary responsibility of the church to rural youth in the changing environment is to be itself and to communicate its message to them. Youth need to see the church in relationship to the social community. Through word and deed the church seeks to manifest and to demonstrate its relation and responsibility to people in communities. It must uphold and inculcate the values derived from the faith and invite its members to be guided by them in all of their decision making. On the basis of the religious message, youth may make individual vows as a basis for personal decision making.

In carrying out the mission of the church, religious leaders realize that the knowledge and research skills of social scientists are needed as well. Therefore, the church sponsors study conferences and receives and uses the analyses, facts, and insights of social scientists. For example, on August 27–29, 1963, the United Church of Christ held its second quadrennial Town and Country Convocation in Ohio to develop insights on the "Church and Cultural Crisis." On July 9–12, 1963, the Methodist Church held its fifth quadrennial National Methodist Conference on the Church in Town and Country at the University of Minnesota. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference coordinates study conferences as an important part of its ongoing program. Workshops at the various levels are continually in process through the initiation of the church in town and country departments of denominations.

The continuing education schools at land-grant universities are designed to meet the informational and study needs for people whose responsibilities reside at the parish or community level. These conferences and schools are designed to share information with all denominations. Facts are nondenominational. Continuing education schools sometimes include rural youth as a subject area; however, the analysis of rural society always has implications for the church in relation to youth. The Farm Foundation and the Federal Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture have aided and encouraged these efforts over the years.

The National Committee on Continuing Education for Town and Country Pastors at land-grant universities has taken steps to initiate a series of study conferences through State of Society Conferences for church administrators at the State and regional level. Here again, these study conferences are planned for administrators of all denominations. Rural youth and the changing rural environment are subjects planned for presentations and discussions in the State of Society Conferences.

Study processes are helpful to the church in promoting a magnificent decline of churches in rural areas. The decline of which we speak is in numbers of congregations. The magnificence of which we speak is that of fewer but stronger congregations that serve more people.

Overchurching is a serious problem in ministering to rural youth in a changing environment. Evidence appears to indicate that more youth are better served by the church when youth have associations with relatively larger numbers of their peers. The merger of congregations and the realignment of parishes seems to be a workable solution in providing adequate bases for the type of parish ministry required by youth and other age groups in present-day town and country areas.

What the church has learned and is learning, both at the study conferences it sponsors and at those sponsored by other groups, it seeks to apply through its basic units—the local congregations and parishes. Applications are possible when the insights are communicated. Many means of communication are used. Parish pastors and laymen are participants in the study conference. Conference reports are widely distributed. Audio visuals, such as filmstrips and movies, are harnessed. Articles and feature stories are published in both special interest and general church publications. Publications of the agencies, committees, institutions, and societies are publicized and distributed. And the spoken word is not infrequently used by church leaders in calling attention to rural changes and problems of rural youth.

One specific example of information for and about rural communities and roles of rural churches is the Methodist Church curriculum for small churches, most of which are rural. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference has produced three publications which concern rural youth, *Which Way? Rural Youth* (25), *Start Where You Are* (22), *Developing Rural Resources* (6).

The United Church of Christ has recently published *The New Day in the Town and Country Church* (11) and *The Town and Country Ministry Considered Regionally* (13). The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has published two manuscripts, *The Golden Harvest* (19) and *Orientation to the Town and Country Church* (20). The Southern Baptist Convention communicates the needs and the problems of rural youth through its church school curriculum. Other church bodies, namely, The Church of God, Evangelical United Brethren, Protestant Episcopal, and Lutheran have recent books and pamphlets on similar subject areas.

In addition, two special studies by church bodies have produced important information for understanding rural youth and pointing to ways in which rural churches can better serve rural youth. The Methodist Church established a team to "study, explore, experiment, and develop" a new approach in the ministry "to older youth—young adults." Five staff members representing student, youth, and adult work in the three divisions of the General Board of Education were assigned to work on this problem during 1961.

As a partial result of the work, five reports have been published on various aspects of older youth—young adult work:

1. *Combined Report of Two Young Adult Consultations* (15) by Roy Larson and Charles Mowry—some thinking about the young adult and the church.
2. *Toward Understanding Older Youth—Young Adults* (16) by Allen J. Moore—a study of contemporary literature and theory about these persons.
3. *A Local Church Survey of Older Youth—Young Adult Groups* (7) by Lewis E. Durham—done in six annual conferences.
4. *Toward a Ministry Among Older Youth—Young Adults* (17) by Charles E. Mowry—what is the church doing and what can it do?
5. *A Ministry to Business, Trade and Technical School Students—A Report of a Consultation* (10) by Edgar A. Gossard.

These studies point toward the recognition of the urbanization of society and the need for preparing youth in rural areas for citizenship and occupations in urban environments.

The second study, undertaken by the Lutheran Youth Research, is a 4-year study (1958 to 1962) of 3,000 Lutheran high school youth. An advisory board of qualified research consultants reviewed each step in the development of the study to assure its validity by careful attention to standards of psychological and sociological research. No attempt is made in this paper to present summary information of the research. But some quotations from some of the subject areas of the study illustrate the importance of the investigation. "The most significant difference between rural and urban youth (in relation to church activities) lies in frequency of church attendance. Urban youth attend more frequently" (23, p. 44). Rural youth "are more troubled in all areas of concern and are also more eager for help than is true of urban youth" (23, p. 196). Also, where youth are most troubled, adults are least aware of it, and conversely where adults are most concerned, youth are least troubled. "Rural pastors scored consistently lower on all scales (less concern) than urban pastors, whereas rural youth scored consistently higher (more concern) than urban youth. This is especially interesting in the light of the fact that rural lay adults scored the same as urban lay adults" (23, p. 199).

The church also seeks to serve rural youth by helping to strengthen and enhance the quality of community institutions, with foremost attention being given to family life. Numerous church-sponsored study conferences have been held toward strengthening families in rural areas. A study sponsored by the Land Tenure Committee of the Department of Church in Town and Country of the National Council of Churches has been summarized in *Town and Country Churches and Family Farming* by Marshall Harris and Joseph Ackerman (12). The study deals with helping farm people to own family farms under economically and socially sound conditions; the role of the church and local, State, and Federal Government in improving the conditions under which farm families hold land; helping people to live creatively on the land; how farm people may use their farms for security in old age yet transfer them fully conserved, properly improved, and adequately equipped as a legacy to the next generation; and how farm policy and improvement programs can strengthen community institutions.

In 1947 the National Catholic Rural Life Conference held a study conference on the family, church, and environment. It prepared a discussion guide outline designed to help people in local parishes think through ways of strengthening families, religion, community life, and the democratic heritage. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference continues to express its concern for the farm family and rural life in various ways.

In recognition of the continued rural-to-urban migration pattern and its impact upon family life, the National Lutheran Council in 1961 sponsored a conference on the church's concern for nonfarm people in town and country communities. The conference findings, edited by George Van Horn, are reported in the book, *New Thousands in Town and Country: Concern of the Church* (24).

Another strong concern of the church is rural community development. The church undergirds community development in several ways. It helps to develop constructive attitudes. It communicates the concept of stewardship of human and natural resources. It helps to develop leadership, not only for its own purposes but to encourage leadership for community development as well. For example, the church encourages the Rural Areas Development (RAD) approach which emphasizes the importance of representation by all organizations of the community.

YOUTH CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Youth organizations constitute a resource for the development of young people in rural areas and for aiding youth as they move to cities. These organizations are of two kinds: (a) Those essentially rural in origin and orientation; and (b) The national youth-serving agencies which have adapted essentially urban programs to rural needs. Brief comments on each type of organization follow.

The 4–H Club movement is the largest in volume and spread; the richest in leadership resources; and has the most potential because of its indigenous rural nature based upon real life projects interwoven with the home, and its evidence of adaptation to the present changing rural-urban scene. Two and a third million youth between 10–19 years of age were participating in 94,707 clubs in 1963.

Two basic elements of the 4–H movement have provided a dynamic which has never been equalled in urban programs. First, the projects are central in the program and are real tasks indigenous to rural life. They include livestock, automotive study, gardening, science, home grounds, field crops, forestry, foods and nutrition, clothing, horsemanship, community health, keeping management records, production and marketing, and many more. These are real tasks, not play-acting. And they have status in the eyes of youth and adults. The other element is the degree of family involvement. The very nature of many of the projects is centered around the home and requires that club members work hand-in-hand with their parents. The success of a boy or girl in 4–H depends a great deal on his parents. "Enroll the parent as you enroll the boy or girl" is 4–H procedure.

The present program emphases best reflect the current nature of 4–H and the changing nature and needs of rural youth.

Career exploration projects help young people explore the world of work. A review of some of the literature reveals awareness of the rural youth employment problem, such as *Career Exploration* (4); *Exploring Your Future* (8); *Report: National Extension Training Conference on Career Exploration and Youth Employment* (21). Personal development, another popular project area, teaches personal industry and shows the dignity and value of work. Other fast-growing project areas include automotive care, citizenship, entomology, dog husbandry, horsemanship, creative crafts, indoor gardening, money management, child care, grooming and personal improvement, and contributions to community development.

Despite changes in program emphasis, the goals of 4-H remain the same, as expressed in the 4-H pledge: "I pledge my HEAD to clear thinking, my HEART to greater loyalty, my HANDS to larger service, and my HEALTH to better living, for my club, my community, and my country."

Chapters of Future Farmers and New Farmers of America are found in public high schools where vocational agriculture is taught and include over 454,000 boys. Sponsorship is carried out in cooperation with State boards for vocational education and the local schools. The national organizations, each State association, and each local chapter elects officers annually.

Future Farmers of America is the larger of the two organizations having approximately 396,000 members in 8,400 local chapters located throughout the 50 States and Puerto Rico. New Farmers of America, which is active only in 14 southern States which still maintain some separate schools for Negroes, has a membership of 58,000 in 1,030 chapters. In integrated schools, Negro boys are members of Future Farmers of America.[1]

Both organizations are educational, nonprofit, nonpolitical, and are designed to develop agricultural leadership, character, thrift, scholarship, cooperation, citizenship, and patriotism. Since they are intracurricular organizations, many of the activities are designed to stimulate the boys in their study of vocational agriculture. Advancement in the system of degrees is based on achievement in agriculture and leadership. Contests and award programs are provided to supplement instruction.

The Grange Youth Program is carried on by local Grange leaders in 6,800 local units and involves 71,000 youth from 5-19. The program emphasizes career exploration; civic education; acquainting young people with business, industry, science, and agriculture; improving health and fitness; meeting cultural, recreational, and social needs; preparing for improved family living; aiding rural youth to become assimilated in urban areas; traffic safety; and international hospitality.

The American Farm Bureau Federation Young People's Program is for young men and women from the ages of 17 through 30 and is part of the Farm Bureau structure and program. The objective is to provide opportunities for participation in the Farm Bureau and to develop leadership to help build a more effective Farm Bureau, to preserve individual freedoms, and to expand opportunities in agriculture. Twenty-five States have a State young people's committee and a continuing program while the others have a limited number of activities for young people.

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[1] The two organizations will be completely merged during 1965.

The American Institute of Cooperation does not sponsor a youth organization but provides an important role for outstanding youth from rural America in its annual summer institutes. Thousands of top boys and girls participate in projects related to cooperatives to win local, State, and finally, national recognition. Youth also participate in the general sessions of the Farm Business Conference, sponsored by the Institute, to hear addresses by spokesmen for agriculture, cooperatives, and government. They have their own youth sessions for statements on various topics followed by discussion sessions led by youth chairmen.

The Future and the New Homemakers of America, private, nonprofit organizations, are sponsored by the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the American Home Economics Association. These national organizations for students studying homemaking in junior and senior high schools promote home economics study and instruction in all phases of homemaking activities. The national organizations were founded in 1945 after 12 regional meetings.

Future Homemakers of America has a membership of 540,872 youth from 13–18 years of age in 10,715 chapters in the United States, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. New Homemakers of America numbers 73,981 youth from 13–18 years of age in 1,400 chapters in 13 States.[2] Membership is voluntary and all students who are taking or have taken a home economics course in school are eligible. Chapter advisors are home economics teachers in local schools. The State advisor is a member of the State home economics education staff. Each State association and local chapter has its own youth officers and adult advisors. A representative national advisory board serves as the adult governing body and 12 youth officers elected yearly by members make up the national executive council.

The overall goal is to help individuals improve personal, family, and community living. Four objectives have been defined for 1962–65: "(a) discovering myself and my worth to others; (b) contributing to the joys and satisfactions of family living; (c) strengthening my education for future roles; and (d) launching good citizenship through homemaking."

The national youth-serving agencies (Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, YMCA, YWCA) originated in cities and, while they are urban-oriented both in membership and in concept, all have made adaptations to rural areas and have organizations and members outside of urban areas.

The Boy Scouts of America maintains an active interest in rural boys as evidenced by their National Rural Service Committee and National Director and by two pamphlets, one entitled *Future Farmers and the Boy Scouts* (9) and the other *A Guide to Cooperative Relationships Between the Boy Scouts of America and The Cooperative Extension Service* (1). These indicate ways by which both movements can mutually cooperate in supplying leadership, serve on each other's committees, and recognize projects of boys in both programs. The Boy Scout program includes activities for boys in rural areas such as conservation, camping, community service, and projects like gardening, animal industry, safety, bird lore, and home repairs. The National Director of Rural Relationships estimates that a fourth of the total Boy Scout membership lives in rural communities. This would mean that 705,000 boys aged 8 through 10 and 610,000 aged 11 through 18 are enrolled. However, no figures are available to indicate what the proportions are of farm, rural-nonfarm or rural-suburban.

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[2] The two organizations will be completely merged during 1965.

The new Explorer program for urban high school age youth includes vocational exploration as one of its six experience areas and in this field has broadened its activities, merit badges, and sponsorship by various business, industrial, and professional groups. Should rural programs of vocational exploration in which specialty Explorer Posts are organized in a particular field similarly occur, paralleling the urban developments, the Boy Scouts would thereby add another resource for older rural youth.

The Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls have also adapted their program for rural girls, flexibly sensitive to the needs, interests, and abilities of girls wherever they live. Figures are not available to indicate what number or proportion of their membership is composed of farm, rural-nonfarm, or urban girls. The Girl Scouts report nationally sponsored pilot projects with children of migratory workers in Colorado since 1955 and in California since 1957. On the basis of this experience, guides have been developed for Girl Scout Councils in an effort to serve migrant children, children on Indian reservations, children in the southern Appalachians, and other isolated rural groups. Both the Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls provide vocational exploration for their older members, include a rich variety of program experiences for all ages, and stress opportunities for service.

A sketchy look at YMCA history in rural areas will indicate changes which urbanization has brought. In the late 19th century and the early 20th, the YMCA had a vigorous rural component. Rural life conferences were held, "Town and Country Associations" were organized by counties, there were rural life publications, and the National Council had a "County Work" department and staff. As late as the 1930's a rural life expert was included on the staff of the National Council. In 1950 the National Council conducted a study and a special consultation on YMCA program in rural areas.

Urbanization in recent decades has made it impossible to detect from YMCA official figures to what extent they are now serving rural areas. In 1930 the official yearbook listed 100 "Town and Country" YMCA's; the 1961 yearbook listed 111 with a youth membership (under 18) of 128,882. This would appear to indicate that the number of "Town and Country" YMCA's had actually increased in the last 30 years. However, "Town and Country" has not been redefined which means that suburban branches of metropolitan YMCA's are counted as "Town and Country"

YMCA's while they are, in fact, urban. Therefore, much of what appears in official YMCA statistics under an old rural designation is urban.

The disappearance of rural life conferences and literature, the discontinuance of national staff leadership for rural programs, and the transformation of many "Town and Country" YMCA's from essentially rural to predominantly urban constituency reflects the urbanization of the times. However, some residue of rural services remain. A thriving YMCA movement on several Indian reservations has continued for 50 years with little or no staff service. A nucleus of "Town and Country" YMCA's carries on in rural areas and some State and Area Committees conduct group programs for older youth in rural high schools through district organizations or directly out of State and Area Offices.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Business and industrial leaders are vitally interested in the identification and development of human talent. Maximum development, principally through formal education and supplemented by occupational guidance and counseling and apprenticeship training, is the best insurance for economic growth and national security. Unemployment or poor utilization of the skills of youth, therefore, must be prevented. One solution to these problems is a pilot operation designed to aid boys and girls in preparing themselves to make the transition to the world of work; to select the kind of work that is suited to their needs, interests, and qualifications; and to find a satisfactory starting point for continuing progress, growth, and achievement. This project has been sponsored by the Everett, Massachusetts, Chamber of Commerce working in collaboration with the Center of Continuing Education of Northeastern University and the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries Division of Apprentice Training. An annual program is now in effect which is utilizing pilot study findings. Although only one of the many projects sponsored by business and industry groups to aid youth, some details of the "Everett Prep Club" are worth noting.

All Prep Clubs meet twice a month during the school year under the direction of competent adult leaders from sponsoring firms. Each individual club has its own youth officers who preside at all meetings. Several joint meetings feature keynote speakers prior to individual club meetings. At other meetings films and visual aids are used, panel discussions are arranged, and field trips to various firms are made. Leaders are provided manuals covering subjects and methods of conducting meetings. Each member is issued a guide which includes career information, aptitude tests, job analysis work sheets, hints on personal development, job surveys, etc.

Sessions cover establishing personal goals, career planning, how a business operates, where and how to find employment, business understanding, labor-management relations, career opportunities, the job interview, government's role in our economy, economic understanding, evaluating opportunities, selling one's self, and other subjects.

Occasionally, planned social affairs are included as part of Prep Club activities and are held following club meetings. Not to be overlooked is the *Prep Club News* which is prepared by the Club's news staff and published twice monthly to keep members informed on club affairs and activities of club members.

The program is financed and administered by the business community through its Chamber of Commerce Advisory Council. Firms sponsoring individual Prep Clubs assume miscellaneous expenses in connection with field trips and other activities. Club leaders, representing men and women from the top echelon of local firms and organizations, serve on a voluntary basis. They regularly attend club meetings, set up field trips, collaborate with club officers in the conduct of meetings, provide visual aids, arrange for panelists for club sessions when required, motivate members to maximum participation in club affairs, and serve as advisors to club members. Leaders meet regularly to discuss club sessions and swap tips on successful methods of leadership.

Ten months of advanced planning and research preceded the introduction of the project in May 1962. Five additional months of work were devoted to analyzing the evaluation of the pilot study and to further program planning before the full year's program was presented to Everett youth in October 1962.

A continuing evaluation by club members, leaders, and sponsors is an important part of the current program and will prove valuable in keeping the project in tune with the career interests of members, changes in the demand for various types of work, new training techniques, educational needs, and changes in the Nation's economy.

The Prep Club idea can be adapted and expanded in many ways to allow appropriate use of community leadership skills and those of local business and industrial specialists. Development of such programs can contribute directly to the education of youth, their understanding of the operation of our free enterprise system, their participation in the labor force, and their productivity and satisfaction in their work roles and other aspects of their adult lives.

RECREATION

Nowhere is the gap between demand and supply more apparent than when we look at the recreation problems of rural youth, both those remaining in the rural areas and those moving to the urban centers. Recreation programs have been most fully developed under urban community auspices, particularly by municipal, tax-supported recreation and park departments.

The very development of these urban recreation programs, however, creates a problem for rural youth who are migrating in ever increasing numbers to our big cities. They have not been educated—and the word educated is used advisedly because education for leisure is now as important, and in the future may be more important, than education for work—to participate in such programs. Hunting, fishing, and roaming through wide open spaces do not prepare youth for the narrow, restricted quarters of the asphalt jungles. The games they knew are not the games of the sidewalks of our big cities. The mass attendance at dances and other social events is quite different from the small affairs at rural gatherings. The life of the city gang is not the life for the "loner" from the country.

Here is a need which the municipal recreation department and schools should meet by seeking out the rural youth newcomers to the urban neighborhood and helping them to adjust to the new types of recreation programs now available to them. The feeling of belonging is important to youth, whether they are of urban or rural background; and group recreation activities, teams, clubs, social activities of various kinds can help the rural stranger feel at ease in the overpowering town or city. Recreational programs in rural areas are equally necessary for rural children, youth, and adults.

Small rural communities can and have accomplished much in the field of recreation. In New Hampshire, for example, where the National Recreation Association has maintained a special representative for several years under a foundation grant, communities of only a few hundred people have learned to see their own recreation resources—to turn a deserted Grange Hall into a village community center; to develop a ski slope or a lake shore for their own use; to revive local crafts; to bring young and old together for folk dancing and family camping.

In most rural areas, certain agencies and factors currently affect recreation, whether organized or not. Typical examples include the Farm Bureau, the Grange, the Farmers Union, work of citizen planning boards, churches, schools (including private schools) libraries, industries—especially forest-growing or water-using industry, wildlife refuges, camps, and the activities of such agencies as the 4–H, YMCA, YWCA, Knights of Columbus, Camp Fire Girls, Scouts, as well as conservation groups.

Yet, in discussing rural recreation, special attention should be given to program development at the county level. County plans vary widely, partly reflecting governmental powers that the counties possess. A few examples illustrate present county recreational programs available for rural youth.

Some counties in the South are helping to support municipal efforts which reach out into the rural areas of the county, thus offering services to rural young people. Muscogee County, Georgia, for example, contributes $18,000 to the Columbus Recreation Department which in turn provides countywide services. Cobb County, Georgia, population 114,174, area 348 square miles, offers an example of city, county, and Federal governments joining forces in erecting a large recreation building. The Federal contribution was $126,000, the county gave 46 acres of land

and $36,000, and the city of Marietta gave $40,000. The city and county jointly operate the building and a 46-acre city-county park. While there are separate city and county recreation boards, the two share one year-round superintendent of recreation.

There are many other examples of good county recreation and park programs, such as Muskegon County, Michigan; Huron-Clinton Authority (a five-county plan in Michigan); Merced, Kern, San Mateo, and Los Angeles Counties in California; and Logan County, Colorado.

As an example of a large county, take Kern County, California, population 292,000, area 8,170 square miles (somewhat larger than the State of New Jersey). The Recreation Department there administers 42 "area" parks located in virtually every community in the county and designed to meet the specific needs of local people. There are also 12 "general" parks scattered throughout the county providing camping facilities, ski lifts, golf, barbecues, fishing, ball games, children's play, archery, riding, plus a zoo, a midget race track, and other attractions.

At the other extreme is Cameron County, Pennsylvania, population 7,586, area 401 square miles. Here, a local civic club enlisted the interest of other citizens and of the Emporia Foundation and created a broad recreation program for all the people of the county under a full-time, year-round director of recreation, but without any financial support from tax funds. The Foundation is a nonprofit perpetual organization whose purpose is to promote the physical and mental welfare of the public by establishing, maintaining, or assisting public libraries, parks, playgrounds, and community buildings. All revenue is provided for the Foundation by contributions and gifts of land and money and by real estate investments. The County Department of Recreation is operated under a private advisory group called the Cameron County Recreational Board.

Successful county programs depend upon careful assessment of legal, administrative, and civic factors and antagonisms between neighboring towns as well as the recreational needs of young and old alike. Where careful plans involving full cooperation of local groups are developed, we see remarkable examples of citizen action to meet human needs—instances which offer significant and encouraging clues to the enormous range of possibilities for recreation in rural America for rural youth.

Recent Federal legislation and programs provide encouragement and support for developing rural recreational programs. In 1958, by Congressional directive, there was established the Outdoor Recreational Resources Review Commission (18). Two of the Commission's major recommendations were: (a) that a Federal Bureau of Outdoor Recreation be established to coordinate outdoor recreation activities of the Federal Government and to cooperate with States and public and private local organizations and (b) that Federal funds be appropriated to assist the States in planning recreation resource conservation and development programs.

In April 1962, the President established a Recreation Advisory Council made up of the Secretaries of Interior, Agriculture, Defense, Commerce, of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. In April 1963, the Council issued its Policy Circular No. 1 endorsing the establishment of a system of National Recreation Areas and setting criteria for selecting them throughout the Nation. The policy provides for Federal investment in areas primarily needed to satisfy outdoor recreation area demands as contrasted with other areas established primarily to preserve unique natural or historic resources, to develop or conserve public lands and forests, or to meet requirements for water resources development. The National Recreation Areas will augment present outdoor recreation areas, especially in localities where the recreation demand is not being met.

Also in April 1962, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall established a Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Department of the Interior. The seven main aspects of the Bureau's program are: (a) preparation on a continuing basis of a nationwide recreation plan; (b) development of technical and financial assistance programs with the States and their subdivisions; (c) coordination of Federal outdoor recreation programs; (d) completion of recreation resource surveys; (e) research in outdoor recreation; (f) outdoor recreation education and interpretation; and (g) miscellaneous projects in outdoor recreation.

In 1962, a new Federal Land Policy was adopted to permit State and local governments desiring to create new parks and recreation areas to purchase or lease such areas from the Federal Government. Lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management of the Department of the Interior may now be purchased for $2.50 an acre or leased for 25c an acre per year for such purposes. County and local governments may obtain up to 640 acres a year. States may acquire up to 6,400 acres for State parks involving not more than three sites. The public lands subject to this new policy are located mainly in the 11 Western States, but there are smaller acreages in Minnesota, Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, Alabama, and Wisconsin.

The Omnibus Rivers, Harbors and Flood Control Act of 1962 authorized the Corps of Engineers to construct, maintain, and operate public park and recreation facilities at water resource development projects under control of the Department of the Army; it also permits construction and operation of such facilities by local interests.

Public Law 87–714, signed September 28, 1962, permits public recreation use of Fish and Wildlife Conservation Areas to the extent practicable and not inconsistent with the primary objectives for which such areas are established. It also authorizes acquisition of limited areas of land for recreation development adjacent to conservation areas, and authorizes appropriation of necessary funds to construct and maintain public recreation facilities.

The Water Pollution Act of 1961 provided for a more effective program of water pollution control and authorized grants to municipalities for development of sewage treatment methods and extended Federal enforcement powers to all navigable waters rather than limiting this power only to interstate waters as provided in the old Act. This Act will have a positive effect on water sports and other recreation activities.

The Housing Act of 1961 authorized Federal grants to States and local public bodies to assist in the acquisition of open-space land for park and recreation purposes. The Act also provided for public facility loans to a State or local government agency for construction of public facilities, including recreation facilities.

In November 1962, Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman announced the issuance of a series of directives mobilizing the full resources of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in a far-reaching attempt to create new economic opportunity, update wasteful and outmoded patterns of farm use, infuse new vitality into rural America, and to make it a better place in which to live.

Recreation held an outstanding place in these new directives and, if carried out, the new policies of the Department of Agriculture relating to recreation could go a long way toward solving the recreation problems of the rural population, including youth.

Today, many State Cooperative Extension Services, as agents of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, have one or more full-time recreation specialists who serve county extension services and community groups in recreation education and planning. In other States certain other staff members carry part-time responsibilities for recreation, especially in connection with 4–H youth programs.

The USDA may now share with local public bodies up to one-half of the cost of land, easements, and rights-of-way for reservoir or other sites or areas to be dedicated for public recreation. It may also share to the same degree in the cost of providing minimum facilities for public health and safety and for access to the new recreation areas. These facilities could include boat anchorages and launching sites, swimming beaches, public camp and picnic sites, and trails. State game, fish, and park agencies are eligible as sponsoring public bodies when they assume responsibilities for operating and maintaining the public recreational facilities. So are counties, municipalities, and special purpose districts.

Since 1962, the Department of Agriculture has been assisting farmers to develop recreational facilities on their land as part of rural development programs. Farm-based recreational enterprises include vacation farms; picnicking and sports areas; fishing water; camping, scenery and nature recreation areas; hunting areas and preserves; and selling or leasing recreation land or recreation use rights.

Rural recreation enterprises will not only help the local economy of an area and provide job opportunities for rural youth, but they will also help to provide the recreation opportunities which are now lacking in many rural areas.

In addition, State governments are playing an important role in developing outdoor and rural recreational facilities. According to a recent report, "there are over 3,000 State parks but they cover only 3.6 million acres or 11 percent of State land in designated recreation areas. Three-quarters of such land is administered by State forest, fish and wildlife agencies. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of Federal-State relations in recreation, there is a great diversity in the manner in which recreation is administered by State governments. Some 17 States have recreation or natural resources departments which administer fish, game, parks, and forests. In all other States, one or more of these basic functions which deal with recreation are found in separate and coequal arms of the State governments. State planning or economic development departments are often involved in recreation and nearly all States have highway or public works road departments which handle recreation matters" (5).

Private groups and local, State, and Federal levels of government are finding new ways to cooperate in meeting mushrooming needs for outdoor recreation. There are, however, no simple or generally applicable blueprints. Yet in every community—large or small, rural as well as urban—there is a group of leaders who, when confronted with a significant community problem, will be eager to do something about it. There is also in every community a reservoir of widespread citizen concern and support for efforts to remedy undesirable situations.

In these respects, rural America is not different from big-city America. It has the basic resource—human initiative—for any community action. Without this, nothing can succeed. With it, anything is possible.

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Chapter 21

Programs and Services to Aid the Integration of Rural Youth in Urban Communities

Prepared by Melvin B. Mogulof, Ph.D., Community Organization Program, Office of Economic Opportunity

Based on

Some Aspects of Urban Programing for Rural Inmigrant Youth
Marcia K. Freedman, Ph.D., Director, Youth-Work Program Review, National Committee on Employment of Youth.
Programs and Services of Urban Churches in Helping Rural Youth Become Assimilated in Urban Areas
John Wagner, Jr., B.D., Executive Director of the Department of the Urban Church in the Division of Home Missions, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

The movement from one set of living arrangements to another is rarely unaccompanied by difficulty and pain. So commonplace a matter as the passage from one grade to the next in school or the transfer from one job to another, holds problems for the individual in transition. In fact, these two ordinary movements are instructive for the materials we will deal with in this paper, in that they highlight our Nation's problems and failures in the integration of rural youth into urban communities.

In moving children from one school grade to the next, efforts are made to assess readiness for the move and to focus education so that, in fact, the move is possible. The "sending" grade prepares the student to deal with the expectations of the "receiving" grade. Can one find similar widespread preparation by "sending" rural areas so that youth may be well equipped to deal with the "receiving" culture of the urban complex? Too frequently, education for rural youth insulates them from the knowledge needed to make the transition to urban life a more successful one. The continued education of too many rural youth for agricultural vocations, for instance, ignores the fact that such occupations will be available to only a minor percentage of youth. Of course, one might argue that it is too much like suicide for America's rural communities to undertake a conscious program by which the best of its youth would be lost to it. In effect, rural communities bemoan the loss of youth, but, by and large, have not yet developed viable conditions under which such youth might remain. And because not enough is done, and there is not yet a national policy which is able to deal coherently with movement to the city, rural youth from deprived circumstances enter urban society marked as high risks for failure.

Let us return to the analogy of "sending" and "receiving" organizations. In arranging movement from one job to another, the "receiving" organization (the new employer) generally takes a series of steps to ease the transition to the new setting. As a basis for generalizing our discussion, we will refer to adaption to the new job as becoming adapted to a new cultural setting. These steps include careful screening of the new employee for his potential "fit" into the new culture, pre- and in-service training to acquaint him with the norms, values, and skills necessary for efficient and satisfactory functioning in the new culture, and efforts to assure him of a place in the new social organization. Any analysis of the efforts that "receiving" employers make to absorb new members leads to the conclusion that such new members are highly valued by the "receiving" system. For the most part, efforts of cities to acculturate rural youth suggest that such youth are not highly valued by urban communities. Fortunately, however, some cities and certain institutions are taking vigorous steps to facilitate the integration of rural youth into urban culture, and, in other instances, the efforts to integrate rural youth are part of larger efforts to extend new opportunities to members of the "other America," who inhabit urban slums.

Newcomers to the city from rural areas who are poor and unskilled become part of the city's already deprived population. Few special programs carried on in large cities are specifically directed toward rural inmigrant youth. Although such youth may be unaccustomed to the speed of urban life and may have been uprooted from their habitual modes of carrying on work, school, and recreational activities, and although they may suffer from loss of their peer-group attachments, nevertheless, their most obvious disabilities in school or at work are not unlike those of other deprived youth already resident in the city.

In discussing current programs, therefore, one must make the assumption that efforts to adjust deprived youth to urban living and to prepare them for the transition to adulthood, are directed toward aiding a certain (although unknown) number of recently arrived rural youth. Insofar as these youth exhibit the problems that the program-makers seek to ameliorate, they fall into the target population.

But an additional point needs to be made concerning the problems of rural inmigrant youth. That is, that the new structures emerging in this period of our national awakening to the problems of poverty, may not be specific enough to the special problems of the newcomer from rural areas. "Receiving" urban communities will need to be particularly alert to the status of "rural newcomer," with its implications of cultural difference, economic dislocation, and personal loneliness. "Receiving" communities will need to be particularly concerned with the way these disabilities of the "rural newcomer" are compounded when the occupant of the rural newcomer status is a Negro. We are in the midst of a major internal movement of Negroes from the rural South to the metropolitan centers of the North and West. Its import for America may be as great as the movement to the frontier in an earlier part of our history. "Receiving" communities need to be aided by national policy and resources which will make possible the integration of these rural newcomers into urban life.

Hopefully, a national policy will recognize that program opportunities lie in the "sending" as well as the "receiving" community. And finally, one must argue that while inmigrant youth have many problems which are no different from the basic issues affecting all youth, they also have many problems which are unique to their status as newcomer. In this sense, their needs may best be served by our greater sensitivity as a society to the needs and available resources for all of us who, at some time in our lives, will be newcomers. A "welcome wagon" geared to the different needs and resources of the newcomer, may be what is necessary if our Nation's increasing mobility is not to become a drain on its human resources.

The remainder of this chapter, however, focuses upon present programs that seek to alter the educational and occupational perspectives of deprived urban children and youth.

Education and employment are, of course, two of the most significant pressure points for inmigrant rural youth. Education, at its best, transmits the skills and encourages motivation for "making it" in the "receiving" society. Employment in a meaningful occupation with adequate financial reward, becomes, in our society, the final test of whether a person has, in fact, "made it." The program examples which follow are sometimes developed in accordance with the specific needs of inmigrant rural youth; in most cases they are program efforts aimed at those who are generally disadvantaged, *vis-a-vis* the middle-class urban culture.

SOME COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMS

From the point of view of their employment prospects, the U.S. Department of Labor has described the rural inmigrants of the fifties in the following terms:

> A large proportion of these youths lacked the training to compete for jobs in large metropolitan markets. Some of those who had completed their schooling had been educated for farm employment. A large number consisted of young persons who had not completed their high school education (5).

For these, as well as for youngsters already resident in the city, some school systems have instituted programs of early prevention to give the younger children a better chance of successful adjustment.

Milwaukee, in 1961, inaugurated a special series of ungraded classes to serve as a reception center for children just entering the area from out of State, as well as for city residents of some duration who are members of highly transient family groups and have constantly moved about from one city neighborhood to another[1]. Special classes are maintained in several schools (including elementary, junior high and high school). Each class has a maximum enrollment of 20, with one teacher, and special social work, psychological, and curriculum services. Teaching is as individualized as possible; a child can enter at any time during the school year and, in most cases, is transferred into those aspects of the regular school program when his performance reaches the required grade level.

New York City schools are attempting to orient Spanish-speaking newcomers through the NE (non-English-speaking) programs (1). Supplementary State funds are available for all classes in the system in which at least 30 percent of the students speak English hesitantly or not at all. Enrollment in these classes is held to 25, and all NE children in them must receive at least 30 minutes of special instruction in oral English each day in what is called a "language emphasis" period. Teachers in this program receive help from the NE coordinators, whose function is to show them how to use special materials and techniques developed by the Board of Education, and from auxiliary teachers who speak Spanish and serve as a liaison between the school and Spanish-speaking parents and children. The NE program is now beginning some experimental investigation of the use of language laboratory equipment as an aid in learning the spoken language.

Many large city school systems are now involved in some form of compensatory education. These efforts include programs of the "Higher Horizons" type that seek to raise the aspirations of lower class youth as well as to expose them to a wider variety of experience than their own parochial milieu affords. Such programs have been successful, particularly insofar as they have helped reverse teacher attitudes as to the educability of deprived children, but they have also exposed certain deeper problems, particularly in the area of language development.

Many lower class children come to the first grade inadequately equipped with the perceptual and language skills and informational background necessary for effective coping with school requirements. Current work in learning theory suggests that the lower class home environment, while not necessarily restricted in quantity of stimulation, offers the growing child an inadequate variety of the kind of visual and auditory stimuli that foster cognitive development. To cite but one aspect:

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[1] This program was originally financed by the Ford Foundation as one of the Great Cities projects. Each community chose its own program emphasis; Milwaukee, having experienced inmigration from the South relatively recently, chose to deal with it in this fashion. The new project seems to have built on a long-time characteristic of the Milwaukee elementary schools, the ungraded primary.

> The lower-class home is not a verbally oriented environment. . . . While the environment is a noisy one, the noise is not for the most part, meaningful in relation to the child, and for him most of it is background. . . . In actuality, the situation is ideal for the child to learn inattention (2).

In school, this trained inattention obviously militates against the child's success.

In an effort to intervene in a compensatory fashion in the preschool years, the Institute for Developmental Studies of New York Medical College's Department of Psychiatry is now conducting experimental nursery school classes in conjunction with the New York City Board of Education and the Department of Welfare day care centers. Children in these classes are being exposed to a variety of experiences intended to stimulate their ability to discriminate and otherwise to prepare them for their first formal school experience. The program elements are being evaluated as part of a highly sophisticated research design, geared to the measurement of cognitive processes.

The specific programs mentioned above constitute only a small sample of the attempts being made by schools all over the Nation, not only to keep children in school longer, but to improve the quality of their education. Unfortunately, those cities most in need of such compensatory programs are finding themselves in increasingly difficult financial straits, and many educationally desirable approaches have been curtailed to the level of demonstration projects because of inadequate funding.

GENERAL PREPARATION FOR WORK

Parallel to these preventive approaches in the early years are a large number of rehabilitative programs directed to those adolescents and young adults who have either already experienced difficulty in the transition from school to work, or who seem certain to do so when they leave school[2]. The impetus for such programing seems to have come from two directions. Schools, searching for viable nonacademic criteria, have attempted to adapt work-study programs to so-called "slow learners." In this transfer, work experience for high school students has been transformed from the occupational orientation of the past into a more generalized approach, which seeks to give the student a foothold in the world of work without necessarily preparing him for a specific job. Similarly, community agencies, seeking to aid unemployed youth once they are out of school, have concluded that a large number are unemployable, in the sense that they seem to need general job preparation before they can become eligible even for unskilled jobs.

In the last 5 years, programs of general preparation for work have proliferated. They may emphasize one or another program element—

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[2] The discussion of employment programs draws on the current work of the Youth-Work Program Review Project of the National Committee on Employment of Youth (4).

such as guidance or work experience—but all are characterized by a set of assumptions about the target population: that these youth are unable to perform well on any job because of poor work habits and attitudes, limited ability, and unrealistic notions about themselves and their vocational goals. They need help to improve their attitudes, give them greater self-awareness, and for the acquisition of the fundamentals for getting a job. Specifically, they need to learn better grooming, how to fill out an application, how to travel about the city, becoming conduct at the job interview, and knowledge of employer and union practices as well as tax and social security arrangements. Most often, general preparation programs consist of group sessions for the imparting of job fundamentals and placement on a part-time job in whatever work station can be found or subsidized. To this basic pattern, the program may add remedial instruction in reading and arithmetic, individualized guidance, or help in full-time placement at the end of the program.

The success of such programs must be assessed on two levels. First, do they have much effect in enhancing the employability of their clients insofar as the difficulty really inheres in the individual youth themselves? Unfortunately, there are very few hard data by which definitive judgements can be made. Although some youth have benefited from this type of program, the answer to this question is contaminated by the second question—are there, in fact, opportunities to utilize the benefits of a general preparation program, either in further training directed more specifically to occupations, or for immediate placement at the unskilled level? At the present time, both kinds of opportunity are in short supply for the youth who has few skills, a low level of literacy, and may be further disadvantaged by discriminatory hiring practices.

Short-Term Occupational Training

As the limitations of general preparation programs have become evident, and particularly as changes in the occupational structure have lessened the demand for unskilled workers, communities have turned their attention to the training needs of youth. The Chicago public school system, for example, now has a framework for the counseling and training of dropouts, beginning with an invitation to recent dropouts to take advantage of evening counseling centers (in the so-called Double CC—Census and Counseling—program). The Double EE (Education and Employment) and the Double TT (Training and Transition) parts of the program afford an opportunity for some dropouts to participate in a work-study program that affords on-the-job training or in occupational training classes leading to employment. The scope of the program affords an opportunity to follow the youth through several phases of adjustment, and is, by so much, an improvement over program efforts that offer help for a limited period and with limited program resources.

On the other hand, occupational training programs also are limited by the objective realities of the current labor market. Short-term training cannot impart a very high level of skill; furthermore, the occupations for which it is feasible to undertake training are limited, since they must conform to a difficult set of criteria. They must require some skill, else the so-called "training" becomes in effect merely another general preparation program. They must be in fields in which training is not already generally available; and they must offer opportunities for placement. The difficulties in meeting these criteria, as well as in finding suitable on-the-job training situations, have so far limited the scope and effectiveness of training programs for unskilled youth.

PROGRAMS OF YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

In addition to the short-term program efforts described above, a number of cities now have underway or in the planning stage programs of youth development far more comprehensive, both in terms of community involvement and in the scope of the planned intervention.[3] These programs, although originally aimed at delinquency prevention, have focused on the larger youth population of deprived areas and attempted to serve a wide range of needs, including education, family services, training, and placement. While none of these is sufficiently advanced to permit assessment of their effects, it seems clear that they will push the idea of special programing to the outermost limits. In doing so, they should be of aid, not only to the youth who participate, but also to the community at large in revealing the most basic social and economic issues implicated in the poverty and deprivation that continue as part of the American scene.

One of the most interesting of these youth development efforts is focused on the youth who live in the hollows of Kanawha County, West Virginia. Here, the sponsoring organization, Action for Appalachian Youth, has presented the facts of outmigration and proposed a program which may become a prototype of the efforts that a "sending" community can make on behalf of its youth. The following is abstracted from Action for Appalachian Youth's proposal for support as a demonstration program:

The Need

Between 1950 and 1960 Kanawha County experienced a high outmigration of its youth. One-fourth (25.5 percent) of the males 15–19 years old left the county, and 3 out 10 (31.7 percent) of those males 20–24 years old left. The rates of females 15–19 and 20–24 were lower (17.1 and 18.4 percent, respectively). If it were possible to calculate these rates for the rural youth of the county, the figure would probably be quite comparable to the rates of the State where 40 percent of the youth 15–24 years old left West Virginia during the decade of the fifties.

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[3] These are, in the main, programs developed through the granting process of the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in cooperation with the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

Employment for youth is virtually nonexistent in this county or State. In 1962, 7,600 people were seeking employment; by 1967 this figure is expected to increase to 9,000. Their only hope for jobs lies outside of the State. They now move North and West, discover no change in their plight, are unable to adapt, and return home to a life of idleness and minimal existence and welfare. The coal mines have automated, the soil is exhausted; new methods must be discovered to make use of the dormant resources in these youth.

The Purpose

The project to be known as KEY (Kanawha Employment for Youth), proposes to demonstrate that disadvantaged Appalachian youth can be trained to be employable; that these youth can find employment in the national labor market; and that these youth can adjust to an urbanized setting where they are to be employed.

The following experimental techniques will be attempted and evaluated to determine their usefulness in increasing the employability of Appalachian disadvantaged youth:

1. that unemployed and alienated youth needing training are more secure and susceptible to counseling if they are reached and served in their native hollow;
2. that a more valid evaluation of the abilities and capacities of nonverbal, noneducationally oriented youth can be made through an analysis of their performance on job and skill-oriented tasks in rural outdoor settings, beginning in the hollow and continuing through the basic work education;
3. that the development of basic work skills can increase the likelihood of success in specific occupational training;
4. that since it is psychologically difficult for this group to function in a traditional school program, youth can be better trained in work-oriented setting;
5. that since it is always psychologically difficult for many of this group to move immediately into an urbanized setting, they can best be trained during an intermediate period of adjustment by living at a residential center;
6. that experienced workmen can best train Appalachian disadvantaged youth in specific skills since these young people will find it easier to relate to such craftsman rather than to the more traditional teacher with whom, in the past, they have had difficulty relating to or understanding;
7. that hollow youth's adjustment to urban life can be improved by followup counseling at the beginning of employment;
8. that since the Appalachian area is chronically depressed, disadvantaged hollow youth must be trained to successfully compete for jobs on the national labor market;

9. that people who are trained and have empathy with these youth from areas outside the Appalachian region can work successfully with hollow youth.

The Program

Because of isolation, lack of adequate parental guidance, and lack of services and facilities in rural Kanawha County neighborhoods, it is necessary to provide a bridge between these areas and training-employment opportunities. Many of the youth come from long-term welfare families and have never experienced the employment world of family and neighbors holding down full-time jobs for any duration of time. Often their capacities have never been developed to the point where they can even apply for a job. Their distrust of strangers, their lack of experience in an urban industrial society, and their general lack of skills places severe limitations on hollow youth. They are unable to function in the industrial complex in the city of Charleston or in the northern and western cities to which they migrate. It is necessary that contact be made in the local neighborhood which in KEY will be by the rural youth worker.

KEY Training and Employment Centers

Those hollow youth who live in remote isolated areas connected with the center of the county with impassable roads will require a central residential facility in order to permit systematic training. A KEY center will serve as such a residence particularly for those that need this transitional experience. The center will be close to the central training facility but will allow these youth to obtain their basic work experience in a setting similar to their native hollow, while adjusting to an urban setting during training at the KEY Center in Charleston.

Columbus, Ohio, On-the-Job Training

Since the major industry in the Kanawha Valley is chemical, there is little hope that sufficient on-the-job training can be developed for hollow youth requiring this form of training. It will therefore be necessary to go outside the State for further OJT placement. A residence hostel in a northern city (perhaps Columbus, Ohio [4]) would serve a variety of functions. First, the hostel would aid in the adjustment of the hollow youth to the northern cities to which so many Kanawha youth migrate. Also, the hostel would be in an area where many of these youth could be placed. These youth will receive on-the-job training in skills that are not available in Kanawha County or in the State of West Virginia. Counseling and remediation will continue throughout the training program.

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[4] Many hollow youth of Kanawha County migrate to Columbus, Ohio, in search of employment. These youth have friends and members of their families in the Columbus area. These migrants have little training and as a rule end up on welfare roles in Ohio or back in West Virginia. Also contact has been made with competent private agencies in Columbus to assist on the project. There are also indications that the economy in Columbus could provide a wider range of on-the-job training than exists presently in Charleston.

PROGRAMS AND SERVICES OF URBAN CHURCHES

If most of the previously indicated efforts in the areas of education and youth employment seem specific, the church may be seen as an institution whose interests with regard to inmigrant youth are more diffuse. The church can potentially be concerned with education or employment, or a host of other programs if they are seen as instrumental in facilitating man's relationship to man and to God. Programs of churches attempt to deal with the underlying issues of city life which every youth faces, not with specific problems of inmigrant youth, although many of the underlying problems of inmigrant youth from rural areas are complicated by their attempts to find order and meaning in their city experiences. As the church deals with these basic issues, then they may, by definition, be appropriate to the inmigrant and to his problems of assimilation into urban life. Basic issues include anomie, lack of education, lack of job opportunity, lack of meaningful relationships, problems of communication, and limited participation in decisions affecting their lives.

Although these issues overlap, are interrelated, and could be indicated by other words than we use, selected efforts of churches to deal with each are discussed briefly.

Anomie

One example of programs to reduce anomie is the Woodlawn Protestant Youth Parish in Chicago. It is built on the premise that the youth want to deal with their anomie and that they can evidence moral courage and idealism. Definite demands are made upon those who want to be part of the parish; including participation in a weekly Bible study group, involvement in a Woodlawn congregation, and participation in the special activities and services of the parish.

One of the most difficult problems facing the church is that of making contact with the youth so that there can be a serious approach to anomie. In Pittsburgh a denomination has hired two young men to be on the streets in the North Pittsburgh communities to make contacts with the youth. This resulted from a survey which showed that of the 11,000 young people in these communities, the churches and social institutions had contact, in any way, with only 2,000.

Another type of specific service being offered by urban churches has to do with narcotic addicts. In part, the addict has sought an answer to his sense of anomie in the sensations of a "fix." The cyclical motion of addiction, which comes closer and closer until the youth is bound, is not alone broken by the prison or hospital approach. The addicted lad needs a friend in his neighborhood who is available at all hours. Some urban churches are "friends" because they understand the problem and help the committed youth with appropriate services. The East Harlem Protestant Parish Narcotic Committee provides services which reach into the prisons and hospitals; advocates proper legislation; and at the neighborhood base, provides vocational guidance and placement, food, clothing, shelter, psychiatric and pastoral counseling, work with families, and Bible study and discussion groups for addicts.

The Village Aid and Service Center of Judson Memorial Church of New York City is another type of neighborhood-centered programing of an urban church.

Lack of Education

In San Francisco, the Inner-City Council of the United Presbyterian Church is participating with the Ford Foundation Great Cities Study Project in providing study halls and lounges for the youth who do not have quiet in their own homes. This supervised evening study hall augments the serious work of the schools during the day.

In Chicago, Casa Central, a mission to Spanish-speaking newcomers operated by the Chicago City Missionary Society, provides a concentrated program of both English and Spanish language classes. Sewing, arts, and crafts are offered. One of the pastors, the Reverend José Torres, describes the situation of these newcomers, "Each day we get those unequipped to fend for themselves because of lack of 'know-how.' Even the use of transportation and knowledge of the city has to be taught to newcomers who have never walked down more than three or four short streets in their lives."

In Toledo, the Methodist Inner-City Parish offers classes in homemaking and money management to assist the newcomer family to adjust to circumstances of the city. The close relationship of the volunteer teachers and their classes provides extra benefit to the churches that have for too long overlooked and ignored the bread and butter issues new inmigrants must face.

At Greeley Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, a sheltered workshop is provided for young men who have already dropped out of school and who seem not to be skilled enough to hold a job. Churches of the area recommend their placement in the workshop and retain a sponsorship role with them. In the workshop the young men are given work experience, and some fundamental instruction in how to apply for employment, how to dress properly on the job, proper work habits, and relationships to supervisors. The boys who go through this 2-month experience are guaranteed job interviews.

Lack of Job Opportunity

In a list of important concerns to young people, job opportunity runs high, if not first. They must start their careers. Because of the limitations newcomers have known in their homes, former communities, or schooling, they need assistance to find jobs. Some urban churches are augmenting the services provided by civic agencies and in many cases are planning their work jointly with these agencies.

In Detroit the Halfway House of the inner-city program of Plymouth Congregational Church is sponsoring a long-range program for the preparation, encouragement, and placement (PEP project) of young people in employment. The project operates under a series of committees—research, counseling, interpretation, and job placement.

First Presbyterian Church and Neighborhood Center in Kansas City, Missouri, has inaugurated a Youth Employment Service to secure part-time, after-school, and full-time summer employment for youth attending high school. The church approached a local foundation which provided a grant to employ a youth worker to head up the program. The employment service itself is guided by a citizen's board with civic leaders in management, unions, personnel, etc., and from Roman Catholic and Jewish as well as Protestant groups. The six churches of the Christian Inner-City Council which includes Methodist, United Church of Christ, Disciples of Christ, Presbyterian U.S., and United Presbyterian congregations participate in the program.

Prior to placement the young people must attend six sessions of training to be eligible for placement. These training sessions include information on probable job categories, how to seek a job, employee-employer relationships and responsibilities, how to deal with grievances, etc. The instructors include businessmen, counselors from public schools, and representatives of the State employment service.

Similarly, Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia arranged such a service to give young people part-time work while encouraging them to stay in school. When they were making the preliminary contacts with employers, they thought hopefully a few hundred would apply. On the first day of registration, 1,500 lined up outside the office.

Lack of Meaningful Relationships

If there has been any aspect of the young person's life in which the church has been interested, it has been in regard to fellowship and association. Peer group identities are important; and constructive, creative relationships must be an aspect of a person's maturation.

Major time in the youth departments of the communions is spent in consideration of what the youngsters do when they come together under the auspices of the church. Extensive guidelines for programs and activities are suggested. Such documents as *The American Journal of Catholic Youth Work*, published by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, are produced by every denomination.

To indicate the breadth of many programs, we have selected one example—Emanuel Community Center in Cincinnati, Ohio. This center is part of an inner-city Methodist program geared to the immigrants coming from the Southern States—southern mountain people and Negroes. To present this comprehensive program in capsule will give the impression we wish to convey, that is, the many facets, all aimed to establish meaningful relationships. The facets include: daily group work program for about 1,000 people which includes recreational, social, and educational services; day care program for 55 children of working mothers; residence home for women; casework program for families in need, supplementing the program of the county welfare; visitor in the homes of families in need; resident camp for underprivileged children and others culturally deprived; and orientation program for newcomers into the city.

In Los Angeles, the Southern California Council of Churches engages in a ministry with inner-city youth. The city has been a mecca for inmigrants from the South and East. Suburban laymen following a training session are assigned to young people as counselors. The man's job is to get to know his friend, to have this lad's problems "bore" into him as if they were his own. He is to see the city through the boy's eyes and deal imaginatively and realistically with the issues the boy faces. This requires dedication and consistency. This ministry is not accomplished in a day or two of outings. It ties up a man's attention and disciplines his concern. Such involvement is rare for the church, while the number of relationships of this order that are needed increases.

Problem of Communication

For the Mexican or Puerto Rican, a communication problem is highly visible. He speaks Spanish in a primarily English-speaking culture. Who will interpret for him? Who will listen? Who has time to be concerned for the nourishing of his thoughts?

The New York City Mission Society, the Chicago City Missionary Society, and hundreds of other ministries see this as important and have staff people who are bilingual in concepts as well as in words. Classes and guidance are offered. The "small" problems are given patient attention by a dedicated, trained minister. Roman Catholic schools have revised and revamped their approach to these young people who now are a majority in many city communities. Pastors and priests are learning the language of the streets in their parishes, and for some, this is not English.

For the Indian coming into the city from the reservation, many of the supports and customs are left home and he now resides in a confusing urban culture. A primary problem is communication of the culture to him, as well as him to the culture. In Rapid City, South Dakota, the Indian Center provides extensive programs of adult education, personal counseling, laundry privileges, children's activities, health clinics, and recreation.

Besides these two communication problems which face specific churches in urban areas, there is a more general problem that faces the young person of the city. In many communities the young people are space-bound. Their opportunities to get out of their neighborhoods are limited, if they exist at all. They are held to the space of a few blocks because of limited money, incentives, and knowledge of the rest of the city. One typical program now becoming more common in our cities is one called Exploring St. Louis, a service of the Youth Development and Vocational Training Program. Art and music centers, national and State parks, industrial plants are explored as a means of expanding the youth's interests, curiosity, and aspirations in life. These opportunities which may seem so commonplace to the affluent society, are new experiences for many city children.

Limited Participation in Decisions Affecting Their Lives

Dan Dodson in a recent issue of *The City Church* highlights a major issue for the youth in the city:

> While we have been willing to serve people, it has been at a price. Service has meant we have done things for people. We have not been willing to do things with people for this would have meant we would have to share power with them. This we were unwilling to do. . . . Maybe the missing ingredient in our programs is that we have failed to help these groups find leverages to power (3).

Two illustrations of urban churches' attention to this basic concern will suffice to make the point. In actual fact there are too few examples of churches' grasping the significance of this problem. The present social revolution in civil rights accelerates the necessity of becoming cognizant of this area of concern about which the church has been blind.

One major trend is in community development and organization. The organization of Southwest Community in Chicago is sponsored by the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, local business, civic, and social groups. It serves all people of the community, it aims to meet the problems of community renewal in a multiphased approach. Their concern cuts across the dissimilar problems of blight, apathy, deterioration of political structures, education, and integration. The churches see in the program a realistic and relevant expression of their discipleship in terms of the problems of the neighborhood, district, and city. They become involved in the bread and butter issues of their community and witness to the Gospel in these issues.

The second illustration is at Immanuel United Church of Chirist of Los Angeles. The Rev. Killingsworth, the pastor, has a youth group who listened one evening to the record, "The Nashville Story," which described racial integration there. This raised the whole question of conditions in Los Angeles. They knew this was as much their decision as anyone else's. They decided that discrimination in barber shops was the priority issue. They went and were refused service. The group sat down. Two incidents of manhandling of the youths by the proprietor occurred before the police arrived. These young people then instigated legal procedures against the proprietor. He changed his mind about how far these young people were prepared to go and he agreed to serve both Negro and white.

SPECIAL NEEDS OF INMIGRANTS

To return to a point made earlier in this paper, most program interventions are organized around the deprivation of the participants, with relatively few attempts to deal specifically with the effects of mobility. There is some evidence that the major problem is not so much movement from one area to another, as continued transiency even in the new area. Poor school attendance patterns in St. Louis, for example, were found to be more closely related to transiency than to place of original residence.

Such frequent movement is related to more than one factor in the lives of families. It may take the form of "shuttling" among southern Appalachian migrants who return home during periods of unemployment. In one Chicago elementary school with a large enrollment of children from eastern Kentucky and West Virginia, almost three-quarters of the children transferred in and out as many as three or four times in a school year. To meet this problem, the school has a special orientation program to decide in what grade the child belongs and to be assigned a "pal" of his own age to aid in his adjustment. Attempts also are made to discourage parents from unnecessary family moves that interrupt the child's schooling.

Community agencies, and especially the schools, could probably improve their social services for the orientation of newcomers. Indeed, such help would probably be of benefit to all Americans on the move, even though they are not from deprived rural backgrounds. While a useful adjunct, this kind of help cannot, however, provide stability in employment, the lack of which is implicated in much random movement. All successful efforts to provide stable employment for the fathers of nontransient children, will have added beneficial consequences for the education of these children and for their probability of escaping from poverty and unproductiveness when they become adults.

Some General Implications for Programing

Assuming that any migration brings problems of adjustment, the kinds of program intervention that arise to meet these problems vary according to the leading idea around which the problem is conceptualized. Thus, programs may seek to prepare the rural immigrant and other deprived individuals for work in the city; to strengthen his family life; to counter the discrimination he encounters; to teach him to read and write; to motivate him. Each program implies a specific deficit for which the new community seeks to compensate.

The way the problem is posed not only establishes the framework for action; it may also set strict limits on action. Also, there is a tendency to dwell on symptomatology, rather than to examine basic policy questions. The treatment of one problem may serve only to uncover another, leaving the community to begin yet another attack. As more and more program elements are added together, and as a program thereby becomes more sophisticated, the institutional barriers to success loom larger. The most important task may seem to be teaching English to Spanish-speaking inmigrants. If this is accomplished, however, school curricula may somehow be inadequate to impart standard education to this same inmigrant population. As these problems are attacked, it becomes apparent that the transition to adulthood cannot be successfully made without some specific preparation for work. But even after completion of an occupational training program, especially if it has provided only minimal skills, the inmigrant must then face the realities of the current tight employment market. In a word, as an individual is somehow taught, cajoled, motivated, or pressured into meeting certain norms, both as to behavior and as to skill, certain malfunctions of the major institutions remain to plague him and his community. If as much programing were organized as could conceivably be imagined, the core institutional problems would only stand out in ever higher relief.

This is not to say that programs for better adjustment to urban life should be discontinued, but rather that in judging their efficacy, the observer should keep in mind the following kinds of questions:

1. Does the program concentrate too much on what is detail rather than central difficulty?
2. Is it successful in terms of its own limited goals?
3. If it is successful in these terms, what barriers stand in the way of the successful adjustment of the individuals who have been involved in it?
4. Does the program obscure rather than highlight the basic issues which the community must face?

The implication of these questions is that an analysis of programs currently being offered should lead to more than an enumeration of how many participants improved along any single continuum. Rather, it can point the way to the next steps that need to be taken.

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Chapter 22

The Employment Service and Rural Youth

By Louis Levine, Ph.D., Director, United States Employment Service, Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor

OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES AND RURAL YOUTH

It is significant and commendable that we should have a national conference such as this concentrating on the problems of rural youth. In our national concern for the employment future of our young people, there is a tendency to lose sight of and neglect the special problems of rural, as opposed to urban, youth. Out-of-school and out-of-work young people concentrated in the slum areas of our large cities are highly visible. Surveys in some large city slum areas have shown that 63–80 percent of the boys and girls 16–21 years of age were not in school and considered themselves unemployed. Their problems, dramatized in crime statistics, rising juvenile delinquency, and such things as dope addiction, have been brought forcefully to the attention of the public. Their situation, characterized as "social dynamite" by Dr. James B. Conant in his book, *Slums and Suburbs* (1), has sparked the creation of a number of Government and privately sponsored groups devoted to developing experimental approaches to new and better solutions of the social and economic problems these youth represent.

The problems of rural youth are less evident and less dramatic, but they are equally great. They are, in fact, more difficult to deal with just because they have not aroused as much public concern. Rural youth unemployment is less visible because it is not so concentrated. It is potentially of a less explosive quality than urban youth unemployment. But, for the individual, it is as tragic, and for society, as wasteful of human resources.

Job opportunities in farm work are rapidly decreasing, a point that is documented in the papers on the Manpower Development and Training Act.

The problem is not confined, as some may suppose, to areas of marginal, inefficient farming, nor to localities where there are large numbers of Negroes in the farm population. It exists, as well, in relatively prosperous

Iowa and in the Dakotas. In fact, job opportunities in farming are more likely to disappear in areas where prosperity makes possible ever larger investments of capital in pesticides, fertilizers, and the like, which increase output, and in mechanized equipment which replaces labor. For the youngster, then, growing up in a rural area to face his future, it is not a simple question of migration to another agricultural area. The rural youth cannot leave his home farm and hope to find a job on another one somewhere else. He is compelled to seek his fortune outside of agricultural activity, usually in an urban center.

These farm youngsters are likely to be quite unprepared, however, by either training or experience, for the highly competitive urban labor market. In the large cities, where the great bulk of the job opportunities are, the labor markets have become very complex, and the problem of searching out available job openings is very difficult, especially for an inexperienced young jobseeker.

Rural youngsters must not feel, however, that they are not competitive in the job market. In fact, employers may prefer them to city dwellers because it is thought that they have what are sometimes referred to as old-fashioned virtues. Their environmental background has accustomed them to the daily chore, to the discipline of work, to early rising, and, in many instances, has provided some experience with the use of tools and the repair of machines.

But their orientation is not to nonfarm occupations. Their circumscribed environment has given them no firsthand contact with occupations outside their experience and which they, therefore, may not even be able to imagine. They have not been able to observe a wide array of workers in action. A demonstration project conducted by the Iowa State Employment Service in 1958–60 in Waterloo and Creston found that most of the rural youth were not well informed about urban occupations, the job opportunities they might provide, and the preparation and training they require.

NEED FOR EDUCATION

While a high school diploma is virtually a must for any kind of real success in the job market, and college training is a prerequisite for a wide range of occupations, rural youth who do not plan to go on to college should get as much trade and industrial training in high school as possible. Those who have this training will find it far easier to obtain entry jobs in such occupations as machinist, auto and airplane mechanic, electrician, plumber, carpenter, bricklayer, welder, cook, baker, and repairman for all types of household appliances as well as other types of repair work. Employment opportunities in clerical and sales occupations and in many kinds of services are expected to expand. Jobs of this latter variety are often available in the local rural area or within commuting distance from home in these days when it is not unusual to travel 20–30 miles to work. The Employment Service is also able to supply labor market information pertaining to agriculturally related occupations.

It is not my intention to discuss the whole broad subject of education in this country. That is outside the purview of the Employment Service. It is, however, the responsibility of the Employment Service to provide information on employers' hiring specifications, not only to young people and parents, but also to schools so that they can make every effort to provide the educational and vocational training facilities needed so urgently. The first and primary message the Employment Service has for rural, as well as for urban, youth is: Pursue your education.

SERVICES TO RURAL YOUTH BY USES

Education for what? For what kind of work should I prepare myself, the young person asks. The Employment Service gathers and publishes a wealth of information which can be useful in answering these questions. Much of the information is pointed directly at the problems of youth. The Employment Service has long recognized the special needs of young people. A Junior Division of the first USES was created in December 1918, 45 years ago. Today, special youth divisions of the Employment Service are devoted to helping young people choose, prepare for, and obtain suitable employment. Among the valuable materials prepared by experts and published for public use are *Job Guide for Young Workers* (6) which gives highlight information about 100 occupations open to high school graduates, *Career Guide for Demand Occupations* (2) which contains summary information about occupations for which there is a shortage of workers, *How to Get and Hold the Right Job* (5) which gives hints to the young jobseeker, and *Choosing Your Occupations* (3) which is a general vocational guidance pamphlet. Thousands of these, and other pamphlets and bulletins, have been distributed by the Employment Service to school counselors and youth, and are available on request from the State employment offices. Also of interest to many is *Counseling and Employment Service for Youth* (4). The *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, developed by the Employment Service, contains a detailed description of at least 25,000 occupations in the American economy for which a young person may hope to prepare himself, in the light of his interests and potentialities. It is available at many schools and at the local offices of the public employment service.

Testing and Counseling

In planning their education and working futures, young people need special help in determining their own potentialities for the job of their choice as well as information on what the job requires. Youngsters often have but a limited understanding of their own interests and capabilities. The USES and its affiliated State agencies, often in cooperation with employers, unions, and other organizations, have developed aptitude tests for specific occupations. These aptitude tests help the inexperienced worker come to a better understanding of his potentialities for acquiring occupational skills and help him in making an intelligent vocational decision. The best known of these tests is the General Aptitude Test Battery which was introduced in 1947. At that time, the Employment Service had just launched upon a nationwide counseling service for the returning veterans, many of whom were inexperienced workers. Now, in 1963, this test is being given in 1,400 local Employment Service offices and in over 10,000 public and parochial high schools. The aptitudes measured by the GATB are: intelligence, verbal aptitude, numerical aptitude, spatial aptitude, form perception, clerical perception, motor coordination, finger dexterity, and manual dexterity. These aptitudes measure the abilities required in most of the occupations in the American economy.

The GATB has been extensively acclaimed for its efficiency of measurement and for the extensive evidence of its occupational validity, unmatched by any other aptitude tests. It is generally regarded as the most outstanding aptitude test battery used in vocational guidance and has won widespread acceptance by authorities in this field as an effective tool in the counseling and placement of inexperienced young workers as well as adults. It has also evoked an increasing amount of international interest through the years and is in use in 70 foreign countires. In the hands of experts, the GATB, along with other counseling tools and materials, is used in the counseling process to help a youth learn about his occupational potentials, interests, values, and personal traits, and to evaluate these in the light of occupational requirements and opportunities. His education and training can then be tailored to his needs

Counseling provided by the Employment Service in rural areas to youth planning to enter the labor market supplements whatever guidance is available in the rural schools. However, the supply of well-qualified counselors—employment service or school counselors—is inadequate for all needs and this situation is particularly true in rural areas. To meet this problem, some State Employment Services have developed plans for area counselors who divide their time among a number of small local office jurisdictions. In some cases a mobile testing service has also been developed. Available, trained Employment Service staff go to the many places where they are needed. This has proved an efficient way of providing better service to rural youth, though it does not provide for the continuity which might be desirable. In some localities, Employment Service staff members travel many miles to outlying high schools to conduct counseling and placement interviews and to register seniors who will be seeking jobs after graduation. They often arrange for the transfer of job application records to urban offices where the young people may be seeking work, or try to get jobs for them in a nearby town.

Job Placement

Of course, the ultimate service that can be rendered a rural youth seeking a suitable job is to place him in one. For this purpose, the local Employment Service office is a major source of assistance. The Employment Service system links more than 1,900 local offices scattered over the country. Through the interarea recruitment service, the local Employment Service office has information on job openings and opportunities elsewhere, and can present to the young worker all the elements necessary to making an intelligent choice in the nationwide job market. This is of special importance to rural youth in that the entire country is thus opened as their job market. There is a bridge between the farm and urban areas.

However, resources and facilities of the Employment Service are used to provide services that go beyond finding jobs for individual unemployed workers. The Employment Service is also engaged in the broader aspects of reducing and preventing unemployment and in making contributions to the economies of rural areas. It works through and with other agencies, and with community leaders, to help attract new industry to the area and to encourage existing industry to expand and so to increase local job opportunities.

SPECIAL RURAL PROGRAMS

Experimental Rural Area Programs

During the last few years the Employment Service initiated a program in which it cooperates with the Department of Agriculture in a joint undertaking called the Experimental Rural Area Program (ERAP). The central purpose of the ERAP is to explore the contribution the Employment Service can make in helping residents of rural low income areas to recognize the need for appropriate economic adjustment and to plan and take action to achieve it. The original experiment was carried out in areas in four States—Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Wisconsin. A house-to-house survey was conducted and an inventory of the occupational potentials of jobseekers was made as a result of personal interviews. A total of about 10,000 persons filed applications for employment, and about 7,000 were provided counseling service and 8,000 were given USES aptitude tests. Nearly 500 job openings were found in the areas and about 300 residents were placed in jobs in their own localities. As a further development of this program, new plants were opened in two of the areas. Community development organizations were initiated or rejuvenated in all four.

Smaller Communities Program

Using the experience acquired in the Experimental Rural Area Program, guidelines have been developed for a continuing program of Employment

Services to rural, low income areas remote from existing Employment Service local offices. This new effort, which has been in operation for a little more than a year, is the Smaller Communities Program. It operates in close cooperation with related programs of the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce. Under the general direction of a Rural Area Representative, who is member of the State Employment Service staff, a mobile team of experienced interviewers and counselors works in an area, usually for 3 or 4 months, registering, testing, and counseling the underemployed and the unemployed, and assigning to each jobseeker an occupational dictionary code based on both experience and potential. The occupational codes are tabulated in several different ways. One reflects the work experience of members of the labor force, while another represents the potential for occupations which might become available if the economy of the area were expanded. This Occupational Potential Inventory gives an overall picture of the area's manpower resources. In the hands of the local economic development group, the inventory is an invaluable tool for initiating employment expansion plans which are realistic in terms of the area's assets. It can be used to develop promotional materials for use in attracting new industries and may form the basis of an Overall Economic Development Program necessary for assistance under the Area Redevelopment Act. By interpreting the potentialities of the work force in the community, Employment Service staff members frequently prove to be key figures in assisting community leaders in arriving at sound economic development plans.

When the mobile team leaves an area, all applicant and employer records are turned over to the local Employment Service office regularly having administrative jurisdiction over the area so that future employment services to area residents are facilitated. The Rural Area Representative maintains regular contact with the community leaders to help them in their continuing employment development activities. He also provides information on Federal programs which might be of value in local community employment development, and ensures that the needs for followup counseling and placement services are recognized and met.

The Smaller Communities Program has been in operation in a number of rural, low income areas with declining employment opportunities. Although these communities have succeeded in attracting a wide variety of industries, ranging from poultry processing to drug and rubber manufacture, not all rural areas can hope to develop a sufficient number of job opportunities for all their unemployed, underemployed, and young people entering the labor market. It is in relation to this problem that the program offers particular benefit by providing thousands of rural people with information on the possibilities of employment in surrounding areas; and with counseling, testing, and referral services to help them in their efforts to find suitable jobs. This two-pronged effort—employment development combined with on-the-spot applicant services—is a fresh approach to the employment problems of rural communities.

ONGOING SERVICES

For those youth who have to leave home to find suitable work in an urban center, the Employment Service is constantly providing special service. Special arrangements for the referral of youth from rural areas to urban centers have been made between Employment Service staff in neighboring States. Examples are Minnesota-Wisconsin and Nebraska-Iowa. Many young migrants to the city would well profit by group guidance sessions to speed their integration into city life. Such service is sometimes provided by group-working agencies such as the "Y's" and neighborhood houses. In some instances, the Employment Service stations staff in these centers. When volume justifies, an Employment Service staff member may head up what amounts to a part-time branch office in a crowded urban neighborhood. For example, such service is operating in Newark where there is a large inmigrant population of young people from the South and Puerto Rico.

Through its research facilities the Employment Service will continue to study the special employment problems of rural youth. It will also seek to:

1. Extend its program for seniors and dropouts entering the labor market to more small schools.
2. Make more provision for the transfer of youth job applicants and their records from small offices to the larger city employment offices where opportunities are greater.
3. Make more provisions in the urban local offices for serving the rural youth who come to the city seeking work. In some cases, this will mean assigning a special person to serve them.
4. Expand the arrangements between States for placing youth in the cities which are the natural mecca areas for youth from neighboring States.
5. Provides more area counselors to provide counseling services. This counseling will include information on the need for mobility and for acquiring necessary training for urban employment.
6. Continue to disseminate nationwide labor market information.
7. Continue to cooperate with the 4–H Clubs in their "Career Exploration" activities.
8. Cooperate in the preparation of educational material for rural parents to help them see the need for mobility and preparation for out-of-town employment for many of their children and for the adjustments to a growing urban economy.

To best serve rural youth and their parents, leaders of rural communities should come to know the Employment Service better.

The Employment Service is a highly professional organization which, in its 30 years of existence, has become one of the most outstanding developers of trained staff and technical tools for labor market evaluation. Its *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* and General Aptitude Test Battery are unique contributions which have served as models both at home and abroad in many lands. Its labor market information, covering more than 1,000 local labor markets across the Nation, is both comprehensive and up to date. Its network of local offices, linked by the operations of its interarea recruitment system, blankets the country. Its daily operations keep it in the closest possible touch with all kinds of job opportunities as they emerge. Placement service, "getting the most suitable job for the worker and the most suitable worker for the job," has always been the core of its activity. This activity takes knowledgeable and skilled placement personnel for differentiation of workers. Knowledge of occupational and industrial requirements also requires training and experience.

Moreover, the Employment Service has evolved in recent years to be a community manpower center. It is concerned with accepting employers' orders for workers and referring workers to jobs, but also with manpower research and planning to anticipate long-range labor market needs, manpower development through training and retraining programs, manpower distribution through an effective placement service, and manpower utilization to assure full use of the Nation's manpower resources.

The Employment Services want to work closely with rural youth, their parents, and the schools to help the young make the best use of their potentialities as well as their fullest contribution to society. While it is not possible to provide full-time local offices in widely scattered rural areas, the Employment Service does arrange for the services discussed here, as well as cooperating with the schools and with other groups by furnishing its full array of personnel services, including labor market and occupational information.

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Chapter 23

Child Labor Standards and School Attendance Laws as Related to Rural Youth

By William E. Amos, Ed. D., Chief, Division of Youth Services and Employment Standards, Bureau of Labor Standards, U.S. Department of Labor

Interest in jobless youth is widespread, and deep concern is being expressed for finding ways to increase their employability. About 700,000 boys and girls between 16 and 21 are out of school and unable to find jobs. Their rate of unemployment is about two and one-half that of the whole population (13 percent as compared with 5 percent). The sample data on which the total estimate of unemployment is based do not permit an accurate geographical distribution or an accurate appraisal of the socioeconomic characteristics of this unemployed group. It is known, however, that Negroes have doubled the unemployment rate of whites, and the rate for undereducated and unmotivated youth, including dropouts, is very high. The unemployment is concentrated in urban areas, particularly in the heavily overpopulated, low income areas (2). In examining the data, however, the importance of rural youth in these unemployment figures becomes more and more strikingly apparent.

SOCIOECONOMIC CHANGES INVOLVING RURAL YOUTH

Rural youth accounts for an excessive proportion of jobless boys and girls. This is not, of course, because most of the unemployment is in rural areas, but rather that much of the unemployment in urban areas involves families who have moved away from farms and rural areas in response to social and economic pressures and have not been able to find, or keep, jobs in the cities.

The reasons are as complex as the composition of the unemployed group. Many Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans have gravitated to the cities more because opportunity was lacking at home than for any positive reason. Numbers of both whites and nonwhites have found jobs in industry, only to find themselves "automated out." Some of the urban jobless came from families who migrated to the cities during the depression. They have lived out their lives on the ragged edge of disaster—some are second and third generation relief clients.

Efforts to find jobs for these pocketed groups, particularly the efforts directed at placing young people in jobs, have encountered a hard core of boys and girls who are very hard to place. The one generalization that is most applicable is that they lack the basic education they need to get and hold jobs in today's world.

Some are victims of racial prejudice and discrimination, and the ramifications of discrimination are wide indeed. But beyond this, these young people are also affected by drastic and far-reaching shifts in the economy that they are unprepared even to recognize, much less to adjust to quickly.

By far the greater number of farm youth today cannot expect to make an adequate living on farms. According to the Department of Agriculture, about 1 in 10 or 12 can expect to earn a reasonable income as a farmer. The long process that started generations ago with McCormick's reaper has never stopped. Any farm machinery lot today is full of cotton and corn pickers, ditch diggers, and dozens of other power appliances designed for one thing only—to cut labor costs. As farm workers are displaced, farm families are being forced from small holdings. A successful farmer today needs between $50,000 and $100,000 worth of farm machinery, and many enterprises have far more (1). The small family farm cannot support such an investment. The inevitable result is consolidation and a declining number of farm families. At the same time, a premium is put on better technical education, leaving at a serious disadvantage those farm youths whose educational opportunities have been inferior or who have not made full use of what was available.

These trends have meant and continue to mean an uprooting of large numbers of farm boys and girls, draining them off to the cities as their parents or they, themselves, move out in search of a livelihood. Upon their arrival in the cities many find themselves in an unfamiliar environment, lacking the support of family and friends, and, in general, largely unprepared for the competition of finding and keeping a job. And young people represent a disproportionately high share of the large numbers of people moving out of the farm population. During the fifties, when the farm population declined sharply, 70 percent of the decline occurred among youth under 20 years of age or who reached 20 during the decade.

Many rural areas find it difficult to attract outside industry to fill in the gap left by shrinking farm opportunities, because the available labor force is inadequately prepared. The unemployment of substantial numbers of boys and girls in many urban slums, on the other hand, is rooted in the inadequate educational and cultural preparation of many of the immigrants from rural areas.

CHILD LABOR LAWS

Socially, one of the gravest problems in connection with the farm work force is the employment of children. While exact figures on the number of working children of various ages are not available, there can be no question that the exploitation of children is particularly undesirable, whether it occurs in factories or on farms.

Each year the U.S. Department of Labor's Wage and Hour investigators find several thousand children under 16 years of age illegally employed in the fields and orchards during school hours. During fiscal year 1962, investigators found 4,200 minors illegally employed on the 1,302 farms checked. Under the Federal law no child under 16 may work in agriculture during school hours in the district where he lives and works. This provision does not apply to children working on the home farm. It also means that minors of any age may work in the fields before or after school, during vacation, and on special school holidays. They may also work during "crop vacation" or other times when the school in the district where they live and work is closed (3).

The exploitation of children in agriculture raises three major problems: it interferes with schooling and normal development; children are worked beyond the limits of their physical capacity; and the practice acts as a depressant to delay improvements in wages and working conditions for all agricultural workers.

The 16-year minimum age for work in agriculture during school hours provided under the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act was aimed at limiting interference with schooling. There is no doubt that it has done a great deal to help keep children in school. Much still needs to be done. This Federal Act offers no protection to children when harvest vacations are declared. Migrant children suffer more when this happens, of course, than do the local children (3).

Data collected by the Wage and Hour Division on educational attainment of those children found employed illegally is mute testimony of the need for additional protection for the youngsters working on farms. In 1962, as in previous years, investigation reports showed that the minors who were illegally employed tended to be educationally retarded. Of the 4,166 children who furnished information as to the last grade attended, 57 percent were in grades below the normal for their ages. As might be expected, educational achievement in relation to age becomes lower as the children increase in age. Thus, at 14 years of age, 71 percent of the children employed in violation were enrolled in grades below the normal for their ages, and at age 15, the percentage was 78.

Of the migrants (1,898) found illegally employed, 76 children had never attended school, and 72 percent were in grades below the normal. At 14 years of age, the percentage increased to 85, and at age 15, 93 percent were behind in scholastic attainment. These high percentages are even more serious when one considers that the standard of measurement finds ages 6 and 7 normal for the first grade, 7 and 8 for the second grade, and so on (3).

The migrant's low educational achievement may be related to deficiencies in school attendance laws, crop vacations, inadequate school facilities, and linguistic difficulties. In some States, school attendance laws do not apply to migrant children. Even where school is in session and migrant children are required to attend, they are at a disadvantage. Authorities often are not aware that the children are in the community and have not enrolled in school. Frequently the school is not physically equipped to handle adequately an influx of students, and school officials hesitate to enlarge their facilities because the migrant's stay is of short duration. When school facilities are good and the community is receptive to migrant children, the children are still at a disadvantage because they need time to adjust to the school environment. By the time they have adjusted, they are on their way to a new location. Another problem confronting many migratory children is their inability to understand English. Investigators found that some of the children who worked did not attend school because no bilingual teacher was available.

The number of young people exposed to this educational disadvantage is of serious concern. A special tabulation made by the U.S. Bureau of the Census shows that in 1961 nearly 4 million people were employed in farm work. Of these, nearly 400,000—about 10 percent—were 10–13 years of age. It is not known how many children under age 10 were employed.

This lack of educational opportunity will handicap these children for the rest of their lives. They face a lifetime of unemployment, underemployment, and low wages with all the resulting problems of poverty and social disorganization.

Generally speaking, rural youth working in agriculture have little protection. A few States provide a minimum age for work outside school hours and some States provide a minimum age during school hours. Hours of work are usually not regulated and, although agricultural work is extremely dangerous, agriculture is the only major industry which has experienced an increase in the death rate since 1951. Few States include agricultural coverage under hazardous occupations. Under the Fair Labor Standards Act no hazardous orders covering occupations in agriculture have been issued, since the minimum age requirements apply only during the hours schools are in session. The Sugar Act of 1948 provides that producers of sugarbeets and sugarcane who wish to obtain maximum benefit payments may not employ 14 and 15 year old children in harvesting sugarbeets or sugarcane more than 8 hours a day.

Historically there are many reasons, social, economic, and traditional, which account for the attitudes both about the need for labor standards in agricultural employment and the difficulties in getting such legislation passed. In 1963, however, a number of bills were introduced in the Senate which would give agricultural workers some of the protection their brothers in industry now have. Among these bills was S. 523, which would provide for children employed in agriculture protections that have been guaranteed to children in industry for the past 25 years.

S. 523 has passed the Senate and is before the Rules Committee in the House of Representatives. This legislation established a 14-year minimum age for children employed in agriculture outside school hours and a 12-year minimum age for local children. An 18-year minimum age is established for those occupations found and declared to be particularly hazardous by the Secretary of Labor. None of these provisions will apply to the child working for his parents or a person standing in the place of a parent. In testifying in support of this bill, the Secretary of Labor urged the early enactment of legislation to protect the migratory farm worker, pointing out how rural children employed on farms are disadvantaged as compared to their urban counterparts.[1]

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE LAWS

While school attendance provisions on the whole now set higher standards than ever before, not all States have progressed equally in bringing their laws into line with current educational needs. Most States have a basic attendance law, requiring attendance to age 16. Twenty-two States require that the children finish high school. But three States have repealed their basic attendance laws, and many of the others allow children under 16 to be excused from further attendance for a variety of reasons which sharply limit effectiveness of the basic law.

A common exception is that children of 14 who have completed the eighth grade may leave school to enter employment. One effect of this exemption is to remove from school the child who is below grade level. Or, to put it another way, it relieves the community of further responsibility for educating a child whose needs have not been met by the existing school system.

Other situations in which an exception may be made from the basic school attendance laws include:

- The child's services are needed to support himself or his family.
- The child's interests would suffer if he were compelled to attend.
- The child lives more than 2 miles from the schoolhouse by the nearest traveled road. (Usually this exemption applies only if free transportation is not furnished.)
- The child's conduct is disruptive of school order and discipline and the instructional effectiveness of the schools.
- The child is exempted by a judge of a juvenile court.

Increasingly, attempts are being made to reduce the number and scope of such exceptions, or eliminate them altogether. There is still need, however, for further progress.

Most school laws today also provide for a certain number of days of attendance, so that any crop vacations or harvest recesses must be made up. Local school officials, however, in many places arrange school hours so that children can harvest the crop without violating the attendance-day provisions. The children in one State operating on this principle picked berries in the morning and went to school in the afternoon. They were reported to be too tired to work effectively in school. The same was true of children in another State who started school at 7 a. m. so as to have their afternoons free to pick cotton. A minor who worked a split shift on a dairy farm from 3 to 8 a. m. and from 4 to 7 p. m. every day could not attend school because he had to sleep during school hours.

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[1] S. 523 did not become law; similar legislation has been introduced into the 89th Congress.—Ed.

CHILDREN OF MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—A SPECIAL PROBLEM

Approximately 1 million men, women, and children are involved in the Nation's migratory farm labor system. Excluded from most of the great social and economic legislation which protects the vast majority of the Nation's wage earners, forced to compete with hundreds of thousands of foreign workers, bereft of training and education in anything other than agriculture, migratory farm workers are truly the Nation's excluded Americans.

Together, domestic migrant farm workers comprise a depressed class of agricultural wage earners—a group which for many years has remained outside the broad scope of public concern or policy. Most are members of minority groups—Negro, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and American Indian. Many are former sharecroppers, tenants, marginal farmers, or regularly hired laborers who have been replaced either by machines or foreign labor. They migrate because there are not enough jobs in their home communities to sustain them or because local wages are too low to provide for the necessities of life.

Migratory workers numbered 395,000 in 1961—a lower estimate than for any year since 1954. They averaged $902 in farm wages that year. According to a 1961 Agricultural Economic Report (No. 36), 35,000 migratory agricultural households with children 10–13 years old reported that 49,000 children in this age group performed paid farm work.

LEGISLATION

An impressive breakthrough in the field of legislation dealing with migratory farmworkers was achieved during the 87th Congress. The passage of the Migrant Health Act (Public Law 87–692) marks the first success such legislation has gained in the past 30 years. It will help alleviate the immediate and critical health problems of the migrants, especially in the area of immunization and preventive medicine. In addition, it will protect rural communities, doctors, and hospitals from the frequent financial burden imposed on them by migrants unable to pay their medical bills.

This Act authorizes up to $3 million annually in Federal grants to stimulate and support local health programs in areas seriously affected by the seasonal impact of migratory farm families. The Surgeon General of the Public Health Service will provide grants to public and private nonprofit agencies to pay part of the cost of establishing and operating family health clinics and to aid special projects to improve health services and health conditions among migrants. The Surgeon General would also be authorized to cooperate with interstate health improvement programs for migratory farm families.

In the 88th Congress, Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (New Jersey), has introduced several bills to alleviate the problems of migratory farmworkers and their families. Of special interest are three bills: S. 521 is designed to provide the States with financial assistance to improve the educational opportunities of migrant workers and their children; S. 522 is designed to establish day care services for children of migratory farm workers, and would authorize $750,000 for matching grants to States to establish and operate day care centers for migrant children; and S. 523 is designed to regulate the employment of children in agriculture. Under existing Federal laws, the employment of children in agriculture remains unregulated when school is not in session. This measure would close this gap (4).[2]

In his testimony supporting the migratory farm labor legislation, Secretary of Labor Wirtz said: "Every study we have been able to make of the migratory worker shows that perhaps the most serious long-range impact of the situation is that the children are badly undereducated. They are retarded educationally. They just do not get a chance. And the prospect which lies ahead, as far as this group is concerned, is an appalling one, not only from their standpoint, but from the standpoint of the economy and society as a whole."

LOOKING AHEAD

Extension to rural children of the protection which is now afforded to urban children will do much to help them to take advantage of the opportunities for education and self-development which urban children now have. To this extent, a serious injustice will have been removed which has had a depressing effect on the educational preparation and training of the Nation's work force.

However great the need for this extension is, and however long overdue, it will be only one step on the road toward achieving better preparation of youth. Beyond this, every community in the Nation will need to take a hard look at its educational resources in order to see how they can be used to achieve better preparation of youth. Better preparation is needed at every level in order to meet the challenge of the technological revolution. Youngsters will have to have a sounder basic education, because even the most routine jobs will be more complex than those generally occupied by youth today, and because the training for a much increased supply of professional and technical workers demands a better foundation in basic skills.

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[2] In general, the provisions in these Senate bills were incorporated in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.—Ed.

These educational resources will need support from a wide variety of improved services to cope with problems of adjustment and motivation which hamper educational achievement. Community action will be needed on a broad scale, aimed at building the strength of these services and keeping them focused on the constantly changing problems of preparation and training.

Particularly in rural areas will these needs be felt, as it becomes less and less possible to absorb rural youth into agriculture and more and more necessary to fit them into increasingly demanding occupations.

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Chapter 24

The Department of Labor's Program Under the Manpower Development and Training Act, as Related to Rural Youth and Young Adults

By William Mirengoff, M.A., Deputy Assistant Director, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U.S. Department of Labor; and Albert L. Shostack, Ph.D., Manpower Development Specialist, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U.S. Department of Labor

BACKGROUND OF THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

The Manpower Development and Training Act was enacted in March 1962. In brief, it has three main provisions: (a) the Secretary of Labor is directed to undertake a comprehensive program of research into the manpower needs, resources, and problems of the Nation; (b) a federally financed program is established for training unemployed and underemployed workers for occupations in which there is reasonable expectation of employment; and (c) payment of weekly allowances is authorized to provide unemployed workers with a means of subsistence during the training period. An appropriation of $70 million became available in August 1962 for administration of the Act. For fiscal year 1964, Congress appropriated $130 million. An appropriation of $308 million was made for fiscal year 1965. After June 30, 1965, funds will be made available only on a Federal-State contributory basis, unless this section of the Act is amended.

Passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act reflected a growing awareness of three basic points. The first was that the Nation's manpower requirements have been changing at an extraordinarily rapid rate in recent years, transforming the occupational structure and straining the traditional mechanisms for matching workers and jobs. Second was that this accelerated rate of change, in addition to its vast social and economic benefits, has had adverse effects on many individual workers who were unable to adjust to the shifting labor demands without assistance. And third, in the light of these first two conditions, there has been a growing acceptance of the need for the development of more active government labor policies to assist the flexible adjustment, development, and maximum utilization of our manpower resources. These points warrant some discussion before reviewing the details of the Manpower Development and Training Act in relation to rural youth, because it is only against such a background that the aims and procedures of the Act can be seen in full perspective.

Accelerated Change in Manpower Requirements

Dramatic changes of manpower requirements and resources are far from new in American economic history. Our history is replete with examples such as the absorption of a vast stream of immigration, the westward movement of population, population shifts from the farm to the city, the development of large-scale industry, and mobilization for two world wars. In recent years, however, rapid shifts in the manpower scene have become of increasing public concern.

Under the impact of immense advances in scientific knowledge, stimulated by expansion of private and government research and development programs, entirely new industries and myriads of new products have been created over a relatively short period of time. Simultaneously, demand for many products of older industries has declined and many traditional production processes have rapidly become obsolete. To use a dramatic example: the aerospace and related industries are now among the most important in terms of employment, despite the fact that most of their products were unknown just a few years ago. Another example has been the rapid growth of labor needs in the service industries (as contrasted with goods-producing industries) to the point where they employed almost 6 of every 10 workers in 1962.

The manpower effects of such changes include the replacement of older occupations by new skills, changes in the skill requirements of traditional occupations, an increase in the amount of education and training required to get a job, and a major redistribution of labor requirements among declining and growing industries. Even more dramatic is the tendency for automatic machines to replace workers of any kind—a process known to us all under the name of automation.

The rapid pace of change in demand for occupational skills is clearly seen in the shift of employment from blue-collar to white-collar jobs. Between 1950 and 1960, employment of professional and technical workers increased by almost 50 percent and clerical workers increased about one-third. At the same time, employment of unskilled laborers dropped sharply and there was little change in the number of semiskilled operatives and related workers.

Accompanying these major changes in manpower requirements have been rapid shifts in the location of job opportunities. Areas where there are concentrations of the newer industries show sharply rising labor needs while demands in some other areas show major declines. Between

1947 and 1962, nonfarm employment more than doubled in Florida and increased by 59 and 46 percent in California and Texas, respectively. In contrast, employment actually declined in West Virginia and Rhode Island. As job opportunities shift, they sometimes leave behind areas of chronic depression, which are becoming of increasing concern.

Human Impact of Changing Manpower Requirements

With awareness of the rapid pace of technological progress has come growing awareness of the human problems which may accompany it. Such problems include the need for workers to continuously update their job skills in order to stay employed, an excessive rate of structural unemployment, and a rise in long-term unemployment. Moreover, some groups of workers face special difficulties in adjusting to the changing employment demands. These "hard-core" unemployed include, for example, members of minority groups, workers of very low educational or skill attainment, and olderworkers displaced by technological change.

Young people face especially difficult problems in today's labor market. During the school months of 1962, an average of 700,000 youths aged 16–21 were out of school and out of work. Recently, the unemployment rate among 16–19 year olds was approximately four times the national average.

In part, this joblessness is due to the upsurge in the number of youth reaching labor force age—a reflection of the post World War II "baby boom." In 1965, for example, the number of youths reaching 18 years of age will be almost 50 percent higher than in 1960. It is estimated that by 1970, about 6 million more persons under 25 will be in the labor force than in 1960. These young people are encountering sharp competition for the available jobs.

Other special problems of youth are due to the recent changes in labor requirements. The best job opportunities are available for youth who are relatively well-educated and trained. Those who are prepared for only unskilled or semiskilled jobs face a tight employment situation. The importance of adqeuate training to keep pace with the mounting complexity of labor requirements is illustrated by the fact that 1 out of every 10 workers who had not completed elementary school was unemployed in March 1959 while only 1 of every 50 college graduates was out of work.

Obviously, young people who fail to complete at least a high school education are at a particularly severe disadvantage in the labor market. A recent study of dropouts from elementary or high school showed that over one-fourth were unemployed shortly after leaving school. Many of those who were working had only part-time jobs and even those fully employed were likely to be doing unskilled work.

Young people of minority group status bear a special handicap when entering the labor force. Only one-fifth of the nonwhites graduating from high school in 1959–61 obtained white-collar jobs, compared with 50 percent of the whites. The unemployment rate for nonwhite workers aged 14–19 was 28 percent in May 1963; the corresponding rate for white youths was 17.4 percent. It is in such areas of individual hardship and social and economic need that one finds the roots of the Manpower Development and Training Act.

RELATION TO RURAL MANPOWER

Those familiar with developments in American agriculture will have noted that many of the manpower conditions described above for the total economy have long been observed in the agricultural sector as well. For decades, agricultural manpower requirements have been undergoing dramatic changes. These changes have had a major impact on job opportunities for rural people. Rural people have had to make major readjustments in the way they earn a living and in the location of their homes and their jobs.

Dramatic changes in farm manpower requirements have resulted from the mechanization of agriculture. Between 1910 and 1960, the number of tractors on farms increased from 1,000 to 4,684,000 and motor trucks increased from virtually zero to 2,826,000. Introduction of machines, together with use of new agricultural chemicals, plant varieties, and processes have drastically increased production while curtailing labor needs. Since World War II, a one-third increase in farm output was achieved despite an almost 50-percent drop in man-hours of farm work. By 1961, each farm worker was producing food and fiber to meet the needs of 27 persons; in 1910 he produced enough for only 7 persons.

The tendency to consolidate small farms into large commerical units has also caused a major realignment of rural manpower; the average size of farms rose from 174 acres in 1940 to 302 acres in 1959. A related trend has been the decrease of sharecropping and farm tenancy. The proportion of farms operated by tenants dropped from 42 percent in 1930 to 20 percent in 1959. The number of sharecroppers in 16 southern States dropped from about 776,000 to 121,000 during the same period. Farm people have had to make significant socioeconomic adjustments to the drop in opportunities for the operation of family-type farms.

Other significant shifts in farm manpower requirements have occurred. For example, there have been major shifts in the types of crops produced in various areas of the country, with consequent changes in labor needs. The shift of cotton production from the southeastern part of the country toward the southwest is an example of such change. Shortly after World War II, California and Texas produced 29 percent of the Nation's cotton; in 1962, they accounted for 45 percent. Another trend has been the increasing seasonality of hired farm work as machinery has taken over some phases of the production of labor-intensive crops.

The human impact of these changes has been sweeping. Millions of farm people have had to transfer to other industries for a livelihood. A vast migration from farms to cities was set underway.

At the beginning of the century, 1 out of every 3 workers in the labor force was engaged in agricultural work. By 1960, this proportion had changed to 1 in 18. Agricultural employment fell from 7.4 million in 1950 to 5.9 million in 1960, with a further drop to 5.2 million by 1962. This was a loss of 3 out of every 10 farm jobs in a dozen years. In contrast, nonfarm employment rose by 9 million during the 1950's.

Many of the workers who remain on farms cannot obtain full-time employment. The unemployment rate for farm people is consistently higher than the national average. Other agricultural workers have only part-time work or give evidence of underemployment in terms of very low incomes. In 1959, for example, one-third of the farm families in our country had cash incomes under $2,000, compared with less than 10 percent of the urban families. Among male workers who put in 25 days or more of farm wage work in 1961, average earnings were only $1,263 during the year.

What has happened to the millions of farm people displaced decade after decade by new processes and trends in the agricultural economy? Many have remained in rural areas but have transferred to nonfarm jobs. For example, the rural population hardly declined between 1950 and 1960 while farm employment dropped 34 percent. Only about one-fifth of the rural labor force, however, worked on farms in the latter year. Manufacturing had become the single most important industry employing rural workers, and other nonfarm industries had also made large gains.

Other large numbers of farm people, particularly in the South, have had to leave their homes and move to urban areas where jobs might be available. By 1960, less than one-third of the population lived in rural areas and only 1 of every 9 people lived on farms. Still other have been forced into migratory farm work, with its attendant social and economic problems.

As this great move out of farm work and into the cities has been a part of American life for many years, one is tempted to ask why it is only now that manpower problems have become so prominent in the public concern. Perhaps a partial answer is that the labor market of earlier years was capable of absorbing the inflow of agricultural people without major dislocations. Not only was the economy expanding at a more rapid rate, but the new urban arrivals could count on demand for unskilled laborers—ditchdiggers, hod carriers, teamsters, or pick and shovel miners, as a source of jobs. A slower economic growth rate, increased urban birth rates, and the requirement of increasingly more complex skills for employment have sharpened the problems of farm people turning to off-farm work for a livelihood in today's labor market.

Rural Youth Face Particularly Severe Adjustment Problems

Job opportunities on farms for rural youth have diminished to the point where a great majority must look to nonfarm work for a livelihood. It is estimated that only about 1 of every 10 boys in farm families who come of working age in the sixties will have the opportunity of operating commercial farms of sufficient size to constitute a source of adequate income. With this end of the agricultural career ladder sealed off, the remaining youths must look to other occupations for their best career opportunities. A large majority must look to nonfarm work.

Young people represent a disproportionately high share of the large numbers of people moving out of the farm population. During the fifties, when the farm population declined sharply, 70 percent of the decline occurred among youth under 20 years of age or who reached 20 during the decade. It is estimated that each year, some 250,000 young male workers are leaving rural areas to find employment elsewhere. The outmovement is greatest among nonwhite youths.

The necessity for rural youth to seek nonfarm jobs in areas away from home creates special problems of social and economic adjustment. Many of the youths lack the occupational skills required for jobs in which the best employment opportunities exist. Some rural schools lack the equipment and personnel resources to provide adequate training in the newer, more technical occupations. These schools must either continue training in declining occupations or in farm-related occupations which few students will pursue after graduation. The report of the Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education, issued in 1962, included data which tend to indicate such conditions. The Panel found, too, insufficient stress in some vocational schools on preparing youth for nonlocal job opportunities; yet, large numbers of rural youth must eventually leave home in search of jobs.

Training alone is only a partial answer to the employment needs of rural youth. The young workers need adequate vocational counseling to discover their own aptitudes and capacities as well as the supply and demand situation in local and nonlocal job markets. They require adequate job placement services of more than local scope. Also needing attention are the problems of some young people from rural areas in adjusting to the unfamiliar demands of industrial discipline and to the relatively unstructured and unfamiliar culture of big-city life. Such personal adjustments are often vital to the solution of employment problems of young people from rural areas.

ROLE OF MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

The Manpower Development and Training Act is one of several recent Federal actions that are designed to help balance manpower resources and requirements in an orderly and flexible manner, while reducing the strains and hardships faced by individual workers in the changing employment scene The Act, passed in 1962, provides federally subsidized training to help unemployed and underemployed persons acquire the skills they need to get a job. In addition to training costs, weekly living allowances can be paid for up to 52 weeks to unemployed trainees, with an additional 20 weeks for trainees requiring supplementary basic education in order to qualify for vocational courses. These allowances are limited to unemployed heads of households with at least 2 years of work experience and to jobless members of their families (youth allowances are discussed below).

Another feature is the introduction of transportation and subsistence allowances, payable to trainees who must enroll in courses outside of their home areas because suitable training is not available locally. This provision is of special utility to people in rural areas where training facilities for new or emerging technical occupations may be limited.

Of special interest to those concerned with youth employment problems is a provision authorizing special programs for youths aged 16–21. Recognizing that the majority of young people could not qualify for regular allowances, reduced living allowances not to exceed $20 a week have been provided for disadvantaged youngsters 17 through 21 enrolled in MDTA courses.

The Manpower Development and Training Act also authorized a comprehensive program of research into manpower needs, resources, and problems. This provision takes cognizance of the fact that orderly employment processes require advance planning and attention to needs and problems before they assume adverse proportions. It also recognizes that the solution to problems requires thorough investigation, comparative analysis, and practical experimentation.

How Manpower Development and Training Act Can Help Rural Youths and Young Adults

The Manpower Development and Training Act provides a set of new tools to help meet the vocational needs of rural youths. The success of the Act will depend on the uses to which these tools are put and the skill with which they are used.

Utilizing the research provisions of the law, a great deal can be learned about such key matters as:

1. The way in which rural youths are making vocational and career choices.
2. The kinds of vocational counseling and placement services used by and available to rural youths, and areas of needed improvement.
3. The kind of vocational training available to rural youths and its applicability to their job needs.
4. Problems which restrict the geographic and vocational mobility of rural youth and ways to solve their problems in order to enhance job opportunities.

5. The sociopsychological problems which rural youth may encounter in adjusting to urban living and industrial work.

Many other problems can be thought of which require careful research. The research resources made available by the Manpower Development and Training Act will be used in a flexible manner. Not only are government resources being utilized, but there will be close cooperation with universities and other private organizations with manpower research facilities. Already, a large number of proposals to conduct research have been filed by such organizations and contracts for studies have been negotiated.

Perhaps of greater importance for the immediate future are the operating tools made available by the Manpower Development and Training Act. The Act permits the expansion of programs for testing and counseling workers regarding their vocational aptitudes and opportunities. The substantial resources for training young people made available by the Manpower Development and Training Act open up opportunities to provide instruction in the latest agricultural techniques as well as in the skills needed in new or growing nonfarm occupations where jobs are to be had. Rural schools can utilize these resources to make available adequate instruction and the latest training equipment. Where schools in rural areas are not equipped to provide up-to-date training in highly technical or skilled occupations, subsistence and transportation allowances under the Act provide a means for young people, as well as adults, to take courses in out-of-area schools. In this way, rural youths can share in new opportunities regardless of where they live.

Weekly living allowances are, of course, another important tool made available under the Manpower Development and Training Act. Because young people who qualify for regular or youth allowances are provided with a means of subsistence while taking their training, even low income youths can train for skilled, higher paid occupations.

Provision is made under the Act for assisting the Manpower Development and Training Act trainees to secure employment. Resources are available to improve job placement services and to follow the progress of the Manpower Development and Training Act "graduates" on the job. An experimental program to assist workers to relocate where necessary to get employment will also be of interest to youth in some rural areas.

How the Manpower Development and Training Act Operates

The manpower research activities envisaged under the Manpower Development and Training Act are the responsibility of the Secretary of Labor. Operating responsibilities, however, involve the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare as well. The Secretary of Labor is responsible for determining what occupational training is to be given to meet job market needs, for testing, counseling, and selecting workers for training, and for helping to place them in jobs when their courses are completed. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is responsible for providing the actual training when it is of the classroom or "institutional" type.

The Act permits not only classroom type training, but also a diversified program of on-the-job training. The Secretary of Labor is responsible for encouraging development of on-the-job training projects, which may be undertaken by employers, labor organizations, employer organizations, community groups, or others competent in this area. Arrangements and supervision for such training are handled by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in the Department of Labor.

Both Secretaries have delegated major responsibilities under the Act to State agencies. State employment service agencies, operating through their local offices, have a major role in determining training needs, and in testing, counseling, and selecting trainees. They also assist in placing the workers in jobs and in reporting on their post-training employment experience. Provision of "institutional" training is the responsibility of the vocational education agencies of the several States, in cooperation with local school authorities. Where such training cannot best be given in public schools, it may be arranged with private school facilities.

Of special interest in connection with participation of rural youths in the Manpower Development and Training Act programs are the arrangements for close liaison with the Department of Agriculture. These arrangements provide for consultation with government and private agricultural agencies, organizations, and affiliated committees and groups that are concerned with development of programs related to Manpower Development and Training Act activities. Examples of such groups are State and local Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committees and Rural Areas Development Committees.

The Department of Labor's operating plans include arrangements for experimental, demonstration, and research training projects. Such projects experiment with new approaches for testing, selecting, counseling, and training workers. They also throw light on solutions to the special problems of groups with particularly severe employment or training handicaps, such as school dropouts, older workers, physically or mentally handicapped persons, and the functionally illiterate. In some cases it has been advisable to conduct experimental projects through private agencies with specialized competence in particular areas. A number of projects for hard-to-place youths with special training needs fall into this category

Program Statistics

In spite of the fact that the Manpower Development and Training Act training operations did not begin until late in August 1962, a good start has been made under the program. By the end of October 1964, some 6,000 projects had been approved for the training of over 300,000 workers. In addition, many experimental and demonstration training projects had been authorized to provide training and related services to over 40,000 persons. The approved projects cover hundreds of occupations. By the end of 1964, over 75,000 workers had completed training; almost three-fourths have already been placed on steady jobs.

A significant share of the training programs has been approved in rural areas. Training in these areas covered a wide variety of occupations, ranging from technical jobs through jobs for semiskilled workers. Thus, training has been made available both for persons with high occupational potential and for those whose needs are best met through modest occupational objectives.

Significantly, relatively few of the Manpower Development and Training Act courses are for agricultural occupations, in keeping with declining needs for farm workers. Courses for farm work are directed mainly towards operation of the increasingly complex machinery used on farms. Also important have been courses for farm-type activities in urban settings, such as for nursery and landscape jobs. Particular emphasis has been given in such courses to providing skills which can provide year-round farm employment to workers who otherwise would have only seasonal farm jobs. Special efforts have been made to enroll migratory farm workers in the Manpower Development and Training Act courses. Through June 1964, training in farm occupations had been approved for some 4,000 individuals.

A significant proportion of the Manpower Development and Training Act trainees are youths. Of the first 100,000 trainees enrolled in courses, 17 percent were teenagers. A majority of the young male trainees were preparing for entry jobs as craftsmen and operatives, including machine operators and automobile servicemen and repairmen. Most of the young women were being trained for clerical and sales positions, and as hospital aides.

Recognition has been given to the need for special approaches in the occupational training of young people. For school dropouts or other youngsters who lack not only occupational skills, but also lack favorable motivations, attitudes, and work habits, experimentation with specially tailored approaches has been undertaken. In projects in a number of areas, occupational training has been supplemented by intensive counseling before, during, and after training. Specialized supervision and unique selection and placement methods have been worked into such projects, reflecting a realistic, integrated approach to the problems of youth in today's labor market. Provision has been made for evaluation in depth of the results of these projects in order to utilize their experience in developing similar approaches in other locations.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

The tools made available by the Manpower Development and Training Act for assisting the adjustment of young rural people to the increasingly complex demands of the labor market are not intended to represent a complete answer to all employment problems. The training program does not create jobs—it simply assists workers to adjust to the changing demands of the labor market. Nonetheless, within the limitations of the resources made available, the Manpower Development and Training Act provides a fruitful approach in the growing arsenal of measures constituting a more active government labor policy.

Side by side with efforts under the Manpower Development and Training Act, attention must be given to other policies for helping the adjustment of rural youth to the shifting demands of the labor market. In particular, there must be a realistic stress in rural schools on vocational education for the kinds of jobs offering the best employment opportunities. Relatively few of these jobs will be in the farm sector of the economy; emphasis should be on white-collar, technical, and craftsman jobs, and on skills required in growing or emerging industries. Development of rural vocational education programs must include consideration of out-of-area job opportunities, with awareness that large numbers of youth may wish to relocate to places where manpower needs are on the rise.

Chapter 25

Opportunities for Rural Youth and Young Adults Through Rural Areas Development and Other Federal Programs

Prepared by A. Turley Mace, Ph.D., Director, Office of Rural Areas Development, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Based on

The Area Redevelopment Program and Its Relationship to Rural Youth Opportunities
Harold L. Sheppard, Ph.D., formerly Assistant Administrator for Area Operations of the Area Redevelopment Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce.

Opportunities for Rural Youth and Young Adults Through Rural Areas Development Programs
A. Turley Mace, Ph.D., Director of the Office of Rural Areas Development, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Family and Community Programs for Rural Youth and Young Adults Available Under the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962
Adelbert C. Long, M.A.S.A, Chief Consultant, Services to Unemployed, Division of Welfare Services, Bureau of Family Services, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

A contemporary philosopher has observed that, "Where the man of past civilizations stood on the banks of the river contemplating, speculating about, admiring, and praying over the wonders on the other side, the American is the one who set to work and built a bridge" (2, p. 4).

Over the past 3 years we have begun to build a historic bridge—the Rural Areas Development program.

Rural Areas Development is the first major effort in U.S. history to help rural people help themselves revitalize existing communities and to build new ones. It is a systematic, nationwide effort to ease the maladjustments that have arisen as the result of the mechanization of agriculture.

The nationwide program was launched by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman in March 1961. In a little more than 2 years, the initial thrust was reinforced by legislation along pioneering lines.

The passage of the Area Redevelopment Act in mid-1961 can be looked upon as a reflection of national recognition of some economic and social facts of life that have, for many years, been deemed nonexistent or impossible within the framework of certain economic theories.

More specifically, the Area Redevelopment Act was designed to create new employment opportunities. It was to be done in areas of high, chronic unemployment and in areas of low rural income. It was to be accomplished through a program of local economic planning; long-term, low-interest loans to private business; and loans and grants for public facilities required to assist new and expanding businesses. Technical assistance and training programs were to be provided.

In addition, other Federal departments, as well as all 50 State governments, public bodies, and private organizations have joined with the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the people of rural America in a many-sided effort to meet urgent needs for jobs, homes, community facilities, schools, and resource development.

The concept of area redevelopment—in our kind of society, at least—can succeed only to the extent that local thinking, action, and financing culminate to the point at which national financing and technical assistance can supplement local plans. And, to complete the circle, much of this local effort and cooperation has been made possible only because of an awareness that national programs were standing by, ready to provide the "missing links" to successful economic rebirth. But, to repeat, participation and increased understanding of the elements in economic development can themselves become positive factors in the process of economic growth. Very often, the failure to involve significant segments of a community's population—including its youth—and ignorance of the obstacles and conditions for economic change can be among the major causes of the area's economic retardation. Economic retardation involves, among other things, jobless or underemployed youth who either remain in their home area, unwanted and unneeded, or migrate to larger urban areas, without adequate preparation for proper employment in such areas.

NEW JOB OPPORTUNITIES

A dominant concern is for jobs for young people in rural areas. The goal is jobs with comparable pay and chances for advancement as found in cities. The objective is a rural economy offering a great diversity of jobs and ways of earning a living that will encourage young people to take root, build homes, and help build vigorous communities.

The drain of young people from rural areas is an overwhelming problem. Two-fifths of the rural children in the 10–14 age group, when the 1950 census was taken, lived in urban areas at the end of the decade. Reclassification of rural and urban areas would account for a part of the change, but only a small part. During the 1950's young people moved from rural areas because they could neither earn a living nor enjoy the standards and quality of living which have come to be expected in our affluent society.

There are about 4.4 million children under 18 years of age in the low income groups of rural America, plus 400,000 children under 18 in migratory farm labor families. These youngsters suffer the deprivations that go with substandard and dilapidated housing, the lack of health services, poor schooling, and what is surely the most serious of all for them and for our Nation—a lack of motivation to go back to school. Thus, the 1½ million youngsters in the low income group who will seek to enter the labor market in the next decade will be especially disadvantaged unless vigorous action is taken.

We are seeing evidence that many areas in rural America are moving to a new economic plateau. Local leadership has been mobilized. Citizen participation is high. Comprehensive plans for using all local resources—human and physical—have been drawn up in the light of present and future needs. New capital has been attracted to the area. New jobs have been created. Community facilities are being modernized.

At the beginning of 1963, North Carolina electric membership corporations had helped launch 65 new industries and businesses or the expansion of existing firms. Altogether, the enterprises opened up nearly 7,000 jobs—in processing plants using forest and farm products, in apparel factories, in hospitals, in clinics, in motels, in commerical recreation and resort complexes. A "concerned public" has discovered itself in this State. Bankers, newspaper editors, farmers, labor leaders, doctors, ministers, teachers, and housewives have joined forces in committees for rural development.

Over a thousand people have been placed in jobs in new factories and other enterprises in another rural area—Horry County, South Carolina—through the efforts of local people backstopped by loans and technical assistance from Federal agencies.

More than 300 new jobs have been generated in Johnson County, Tennessee, and another 300 are in prospect as the result of efforts made by a local development committee that has worked closely with representatives of the U.S. Departments of Agriculture and Commerce.

In Bedford County, Pennsylvania, the local development committee has raised from private and State sources the funds needed to finance four industries that ultimately will provide jobs for nearly 1,100 people.

These are some of the success stories resulting from efforts to revitalize rural areas. Others are in the making.

Rural people are gaining new insights into possibilities for using local resources more advantageously as they prepare and continually revise overall economic development programs for their communities.

In West Virginia, for example, RAD committees are turning their energies and ideas to opportunities in the processing of hardwood. Recent surveys of the State's timber potential indicate that if West Virginia processed 80 percent of the timber it is now shipping to other States, it could create an additional 75,000 to 100,000 new jobs in the industry.

The rising interest in outdoor recreation activities is generating new jobs in rural America. To quote from a recent economic research report:

> Recreation industries are steadily altering the character of the rural economy. One particular feature of the current great expansion in businesses based on use of leisure time is the rapid increase in, and dispersion of, dams. Dams are usually built for an avowed purpose other than recreation—such as flood control, reclamation, navigation, or power—but almost without exception they soon become important as recreational centers.
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> Some of the most traditionally landlocked States now have large expanses of reservoir water surface and an ardent clientele of water sportsmen and vacationists. Dams, State parks, and other recreational facilities provide many new opportunities for employment, and especially for the founding of small trade and service businesses. They tend to attract urban people to rural areas to run such businesses and thus diversify both the rural economy and the rural population. Such areas, if sufficiently large and attractive, also become centers for retirement of older people.
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> Perhaps the best example of the transformation of an interior rural county through the building of a dam is Camden County, Missouri, where the population grew by 16 percent during the 1950's as the result of businesses and retirement homes fostered by the Bagnell Dam and its reservoir, the Lake of the Ozarks. The rural economy and population had declined in this county for 50 years before the recent reversal (6).

Rough estimates by USDA economists set total employment in outdoor recreation in rural America in 1961 at about 635,000 people—two-thirds of them in tourist and recreation-related occupations, a third in municipal and county recreational areas and State parks, and about 20,000 employed by the Federal Government.

Nonurban recreation activities are expected to increase by 62 percent between 1960 and 1973.

Thus, nearly 400,000 people will be needed to fill new jobs created by the increased demand and there will be around 1 million jobs in public recreation areas and the operation of tourist and related private recreation services.

The jobs created by new industries will hold young people in the rural areas and bring others in. A recent study by the Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station indicates that the typical employee of new rural industries is a family man of about 28. In comparison, the average age for other rural household heads in the same county was 54.

FARMING AS A CAREER

An analysis of the 1960 census shows that between 5 and 6 percent of the boys in the 10–19 age group when the census was taken had become full-time farm operators a decade later. We do not have a measure of the farm-reared youngsters who had become part-time farmers. We know the proportion is considerably higher than for the boys who became farm operators.

Technology has raised challenging barriers for young men who aspire to farm. It has increased the requirements for skills and managerial ability. It has boosted the cost of land and equipment. The costs are high and so are the risks of failure; yet, there has been no shortage of aspiring young farmers to compete for land newly opened for use by irrigation or reclamation.

One of the underlying crises that should be obvious to everyone interested in the problems of youth employment still needs to be clearly articulated rather than just taken for granted: The crisis comes down to the simple fact that hundreds of thousands of young people, children of farm families, simply will not be needed in farm employment, and further, that a large proportion of them are poorly prepared for any kind of employment, even if we were fortunate enough to be enjoying—as a Nation—an economic boom and full employment conditions with "help wanted" signs everywhere. This is a general statement and applies to almost every single rural area in America. It is even more applicable to the case of youth in depressed rural areas and doubly so in the case of Negro youth in such areas. The latter group, which makes up a major portion of the challenge in southern rural areas, is saddled with the triple threat of few job and income opportunities in agriculture, inadequate skill preparation for other industries, and discrimination. And there is also the problem facing the children of migratory workers.

Only a fraction of the nearly 2 million youngsters growing up on farms today can look forward to opportunities to earn a living as farmers. This is true even though the number of adequate farms is increasing. The estimate is that by 1970 there will be 1.1 million farms with gross sales of $10,000 or more compared with 800,000 such farms in 1959. The increase in adequate farms will come from further consolidation of small farms and from intensification of enterprises on present farms with low income.

An informed guess is that the number of adequate farms available to present farm boys will not exceed 150,000. Thus, only 1 out of 12 or 13 farm boys will find room on adequate farms. The paradox of rural education is that most of the youngsters in 4–H Club and Future Farmer work will find better opportunities in farm-related careers in business, science, and technology than in farming.

The future of rural youth, for the most part, lies in the development of rural areas by improving them in order to attract nonagricultural enterprises and also in the development of the youths themselves to make them qualified for gainful employment in these activities.

USDA POLICY—EFFICIENT FAMILY FARMS

It is the policy of the U.S. Department of Agriculture to help rural communities develop efficient family farms that provide adequate family income.

Farmers Home Administration authorities have been broadened. The agency's programs are tailored to meet specific rural problems. They are now much more effective in strengthening family farming and providing supplementary credit for development of the farm family's community. FHA can—and is—supplying capital to those owners and operators of family farms who face the necessity of enlarging their farming enterprises. FHA now makes ownership loans of up to $60,000 and operating loans up to $35,000. This means the agency can supply capital in large enough amounts to help eligible farmers position themselves for the technological race of the 1960's. FHA is also concentrating on the problems of deserving young farmers who require large amounts of capital to get started in farming.

At the other end of the scale, FHA also has strengthened and expanded its loans to farmers on small units who draw most of their income from off-farm work. Finally, FHA is useful to a group of farm families who, because of age or other limitations, can make their best contribution to their communities and to our national life by continuing to farm in a limited way where they are, who can repay modest loans, and who will live better by having the help it can provide.

The Rural Renewal Program authorized by Congress in the Agriculture Act of 1962 will permit the Farmers Home Administration to lend money to a legally constituted local body that is unable to obtain funds from private or other public sources.

The Farmers Home Administration has assigned leaders in five States to develop rural renewal projects in cooperation with the locally designated public bodies. Some examples of projects that might be financed with rural renewal loans include the purchase of tracts of land for resale as family farms or for nonfarm use; the development of lakes, greenbelts, grassland areas, and wildlife areas; the development of water and sanitation facilities and service buildings, where such types of development are needed in land conservation and use; and the carrying out of forestation projects and related services.

The legislature of Arkansas was the first to pass legislation to allow local people to create the legal bodies needed to set up rural renewal projects. Under the Arkansas Act, counties can organize Rural Development Authorities with broad powers to buy and sell land, issue bonds, construct sanitation facilities, roads and parks, and develop recreation facilities.

BASIC PROBLEMS OF DISADVANTAGED RURAL YOUTH

The problems of rural youth in a changing environment are in many respects similar in nature to those of urban youth. There's frustration facing non- or poorly-prepared youth in rural relief families, in marginal low income families, in unemployed families, in nonmotivated families, in culturally lagging families, in minority group families, and in fatherless families.

While some peculiar differences will change the patterns and the dimensions, certain basic considerations are the woof and the warp of the nationwide difficulties which face disadvantaged youngsters today, whether we as a Nation have disadvantaged them in a big city, a small community, or in a rural setting.

The hard core, the youth receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children, or AFDC, are in all places—rural as well as urban. Of the 2,655,519 AFDC children on the rolls in November–December 1961, 58 percent were in metropolitan counties and 42 percent in nonmetropolitan counties. Thirty percent of all AFDC families were in rural areas.

Relating this distribution to the general population, we find that the recipient rate for the Nation is 38 per thousand children and that there is little difference between the metropolitan areas and the nonmetropolitan areas, which have rates of 39 and 38, respectively.

For an AFDC youngster, the chances are three to one that his father's occupation was in the unskilled areas of farm labor, service workers, unskilled laborer, or unknown. In some rural areas, the chances are as bad as four to one.

AFDC youngsters are usually the offspring of parents with less than an eighth grade education—parents who have limited education do not always motivate their children educationally, especially if they are further handicapped by being on relief. Such youngsters are not inspired to get an education, whether they meander to school along a busy asphalt street or along a country lane.

BROADENING OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

It will be necessary to intensify our efforts to help the seriously disadvantaged groups gain a firmer foothold in the economy.

In 1962, USDA set up a small committee on equal opportunity to study the present situation, suggest proposals for policy consideration, and develop plans for bringing the disadvantaged—the hard-to-reach—groups into Rural Areas Development. The immediate task has been to establish channels of communication. Because rural renewal and Rural Areas Development are new and the program is a many-sided one, many people who have worked closely with USDA are just now learning of the broadening opportunities that are being made available.

Rural Areas Development workshops were held in Tuskegee, Alabama; Tallahassee, Florida; Fort Valley, Georgia; Petersburg, Virginia; Princess Anne, Maryland; Nashville, Tennessee; and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in 1963. The workshops sparked a new interest in identifying and developing projects to help the disadvantaged, such as farm repair shops, feed grinding units, woodworking shops, gravel pits, motels, recreational enterprises, training and subsistence programs, technical assistance, and similar developments

In evaluating initial workshops, we recognize the need to bring in more teachers, ministers, and other community leaders, to work more closely with the county RAD committee, and to invite county RAD committee members to the meetings.

The possibilities for helping disadvantaged rural youth are now embodied in the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962. These amendments allow a personal approach in rural areas. The individual welfare worker may work through county agents, teachers, 4–H leaders and others to make work arrangements for individual recipients.

Social services may now be given to such families as marginal agricultural workers in areas of evaluation of potentials for self-support, assessment of employment skills and opportunities, necessary medical services, training opportunities, obtaining and maintaining suitable employment, use of educational opportunity, and assistance to older teenagers.

However, to be effective, these new programs require a high degree of citizen participation. The legislation permits a great many worthwhile programs, but their initiation and successful operation can be assured only by the action of citizens. This action can be started and carried out in many rural communities through the Rural Areas Development committee.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR BREADTH OF SKILLS

A high level of economic activity can be attained only through a wide range of high level skills. RAD committees across the land are setting the stage for vigorous, varied, and continuous training programs that will equip young people to work at skilled jobs in many diverse lines.

Dr. Lyman Beecher Brooks and his colleagues of the Norfolk Division of the Virginia State College have demonstrated that illiterate and semiliterate people can learn masonry, auto mechanics, electronics, and other skills in demand on the labor market. They can be trained to qualify for jobs if the technical training is combined with training in reading, numerical skills, and human relations. Tuskegee and other colleges are adopting the program designed by the Virginia group.

It is often said that educated people make their own jobs. Less well-educated people, even those with skills, look to the community to provide the market that will use their skills. The challenge now facing RAD committees is to develop the industries and services that will draw on the skills which new training programs can provide. Training programs have just begun to elicit interest in rural areas. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 redefined rural unemployed to include rural people with annual incomes of less than $1,200. Thus, low income rural people are eligible for the subsistence payments and other benefits provided by the legislation.

An example of how new training programs arise out of RAD activities comes from a low income, heavily forested area in the Midwest where the Corps of Engineers has recently completed a lake covering 3,000 acres of land. Two major activities in the area will be the development of recreational and tourist facilities in connection with the lake and the construction of homes and rental housing for retired people. Presently, one of every five people in the area is over 65.

The potential tourist industry has led the area RAD committee to request training programs for cooks, waitresses, mechanics, and all the other services that a thriving resort area requires. The high ratio of aged people to the rest of the population is creating an interest in new homes and rental property, now a possibility for many of these people under a new credit program authorized by the 87th Congress and administered by the Farmers Home Administration. Both the tourist activities and the housing for the aged have created a need for carpenters, plumbers, and electricians and for training local men to become craftsmen in these skills.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE OF A GOOD COMMUNITY

The goal of community development, it is generally recognized, is the building of democracy. The essential mission is not the building of physical facilities but the building of viable democratic institutions and the creation of an environment in which people from every walk of life can and will participate in their own government and in determining their own destinies. The young people whose advantages in education, energy, and *elan* will enable them to build for their own and coming generations are the richest resources of a good community. The test of an effective RAD committee is the success with which these young people are enlisted in the development of their own communities and the surrounding areas.

If we are truly concerned about the fate and future of our rural youth, then they too should become a part of the rural community's planning for its economic well-being. A better economic education would be one product of this involvement, and a stronger identification with and interest in their area's prospects would also result from their identification with such a design for economic growth.

High schools could very well provide for inclusion of these activities in their economics, social studies, and civics curricula. No one can guarantee any panaceas or miracles flowing from this type of effort, but it certainly would increase the possibilities that, first of all, intelligent attention would be given to the economic problems of an area and, second, that proper adjustments by human resources would be made.

There are many instances in which youngsters and young adults have returned to their home communities upon learning of an upsurge in employment opportunities, or in which they have made a choice to remain in their area when they see that an "operation bootstrap" has made a community start up the road toward an economic comeback.

A number of ongoing activities in the Rural Areas Development program have already proven their worth as forces for community development and other activities of similar promise have been authorized by the Congress and are now being implemented. A quotation from a talk given at the Land and People Conference in Philadelphia in October 1962 indicates the impact of one of the established activities:

> A small watershed program is an ideal starting point for any rural area developed. A watershed project, wisely planned and efficiently carried out, in itself stimulates the economy of the entire watershed. In itself it creates jobs for many persons. It uses equipment and supplies. That too stimulates the local economy. It shows people how they can help themselves, serving as a sort of self-starter that gets people interested and economy growing. . . .
>
> A small watershed helps all the people in the watershed—the farming community and the city community. It puts farming on a firmer, more profitable basis and it pumps new blood into the business of the cities of the watershed.
>
> The most desirable effect of all, a watershed project brings all the people of the area together in a common effort. It reveals that people are interdependent . . . the city people and the rural people need the help of each other. Their interests coincide. Working together they can accomplish many things that they cannot do struggling separately (5).

In the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act was amended to allow the Federal Government to cost-share on recreational developments for public use and to advance funds for enlarging reservoirs for future municipal water supply. The 87th Congress also took note of the fact that lack of adequate water supplies is a major deterrent to economic growth of rural communities across the Nation. The Congress authorized the Farmers Home Administration to make loans to nonprofit groups of farmers, ranchers, and rural residents to develop water systems, and an increasing number of these loans are now being made.

One of the systems recently completed (September 1963) is in Clark County, Indiana. The 246 customers include 20 farm families, 206 residences in 2 small towns, 2 schools with an enrollment of 960, and 18 commercial establishments including 2 motels.

When rural people join together to organize a water association or to build a watershed, they don't stop when the initial project is completed.

Their sights have been raised. New goals have emerged. And so have the ideas, the energies, and the determination to achieve them.

POSSIBILITIES FOR YOUTH IN REVITALIZED RURAL AREAS

"Youth unemployment . . . is particularly acute in rural areas," according to *Social Dynamite*. Excerpting from the statement that gives the background of the Conference on Unemployed Out-of-School Youth in Urban Areas:

> It is agreed that dropouts are the worst drug on the labor market. The dropouts experience three to four times as much unemployment. It is not merely the lack of a diploma which keeps employers from hiring dropouts. It is their lack of preparation for any sort of job, their lack of experience in carrying something through, their lack of discipline or "work sense."
>
> Rural youngsters, products of poor and often irregular schooling, tend to be specifically handicapped in this respect. And the rural migrant who finds his way to the city, as many do, is worst off of all. On the road half the year or more, migrant children are in school part-time if at all; they become more retarded educationally each year, dropping out early and in large numbers. Many migrants are Puerto Ricans or Mexican-Americans, with a language disability added to their other problems (3).

Ignorance of labor market conditions is an additional difficulty for these young people. Even well-qualified high school graduates do not generally know what jobs are available, or which employers are most likely to hire them. Dropouts are even more likely to wander aimlessly from one establishment to another. One of the Conference studies notes that for most of them, "job seeking is highly disorganized, is largely a matter of chance, is mostly confined to the immediate area in which the youth lives, or of which he has knowledge . . ." They are easily discouraged, lose self-confidence and may drop out of the labor force as well, to become permanently unemployed and unemployable.

Provision for the vital function of guidance and counseling is "far short of meeting the need." Rural schools, which need vocational counselors most, in order to guide the farm youth who will go into urban employment, are the schools least likely to have them.

Unions and employers complain that they cannot find enough applicants for apprentice programs, that today's youngsters are scared off by the stiff educational requirements, the increasingly technical content, and the length of the programs—5 years for plumbers and steamfitters.

Although the 1,800 and more public employment offices offer guidance and placement service, often in cooperation with the schools, this service is not available in rural areas.

Plans of high school seniors for a career give only a partial picture of future developments. However, the immediate plans outlined by the seniors can show very clearly their lack of information about career possibilities.

For example, 32 of 127 students who received diplomas from a high school in a rural Appalachian community in 1963 plan to seek jobs with no further training. With only a few exceptions they reported they just wanted a job. Nearly all of them planned to leave the community to find it.

Of the 23 students who planned to take further short-term training, 6 were going to business college, 10 to a beauty school, 3 to nursing school, 2 to barbering school, 1 expects to become an undertaker, and another plans to be a butcher.

One-fourth of the members of this graduating class have definite plans to go to college, 14 students are entering military service, 7 of the girls are getting married and expect to be full-time homemakers, and 11 students were undecided about their plans.

The disturbing thing about the plans is that there is no evidence of awareness of the opportunities for young people in jobs that are specifically related to rural areas development—in community development, in forestry, in soil and water conservation, and in farming and the many different kinds of businesses related to agriculture. Not one of these youngsters spotted the diamonds in his own backyard.

A new force for strengthening rural education has been created in the planning and development committees organized in each of the 50 States, in most of the counties, in areas of 2 or more counties, and in 2,000 local communities across the land. These RAD committees, as most of them are known, constitute a completely new channel for getting information to the people about the opportunities for upgrading and expanding their educational resources.

The National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development has urged RAD committees to encourage and stimulate study and discussion of the compelling need: (a) for motivating all children in the community to seek a good education and persist in their efforts to get it; (b) for taking whatever measures are needed to make rural youngsters aware of the many different careers from which they may choose; (c) for setting up Manpower Development and Training Act and Area Redevelopment Act training projects that will help make jobs available for trainees; (d) for reorganizing high schools and consolidating districts wherever practical, so that there is an adequate tax base to support facilities, equipment, and teachers for A–1 schools; and (e) for granting scholarships to exceptional rural youth and particularly for high school scholarships.

NEW HOPE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

"A technically sophisticated community can and will equip itself with the instrumentalities of an industrial economy," C.E. Ayres has written in *The Theory of Economic Progress.*

> There is no instance of any such community having failed to do so. Conversely, an ignorant and unskilled community cannot advance except by acquiring knowledge and skills.
>
> Capital equipment will work anywhere. But it will affect the lives of only those who are in direct contact with it. It does not automatically bring economic development to a whole people. Only education can do that (1, p. xxiii).

The Rural Areas Development program is helping to stimulate changes in the organization of higher education and to expand the services of higher education to rural areas.

For example, the University of West Virginia has placed the general extension, agricultural extension, and industrial extension services in a unified division, which will also have an office for research and development. Thus, the agricultural extension service will become the field arm for the entire university.

The unified division will serve area development centers across the State. Some eight or nine of these centers are now in the planning stage. The center in each area will be staffed to serve the distinctive needs of the area and to get knowledge to the people on a continuing basis.

Each Area Resource Center, which will help the people use State and Federal programs and other aids, will have a staff of 60 people. The Extension Service is now seeking to develop new concepts and train people in new roles. Among the consolidated services now envisioned are cooperative schools, areawide hospitals, and areawide jails. The next step is to consolidate the counties and clear areawide services and other activities through the Resource Center.

Opportunities now exist for rural youngsters who once became county and home demonstration agents to serve as leaders in the wide scope of economic life involving business, industry, and the comparatively new field of recreation.

The Federal Extension Service was reorganized to give a strong interdisciplinary approach to problems that are implicit in rural areas development. A new Division of Resource Development and Public Affairs brings the skills of specialists in sociology and resource economics to bear on RAD activities. The Land and People meetings arranged by the Department of Agriculture during 1962 reflected a rising interest in research on rural-urban and regional economics. The U.S. Department of Agriculture's Soil and Water Conservation Committee has urged the Nation's colleges and universities to strengthen their curricula and seek to interest more students in land-use planning.

The need is accented by growing recognition of the important role land-use planning plays in rural areas development as well as by the present backlog of work in local soil conservation districts and watershed projects. Expert planning must be "built into" the broadened resource program authorities if they are to achieve their goals of improving rural income and strengthening the Nation's resource base.

Rural communities must be alerted to the importance of college education for an increasing number of their youth. The labor market is changing at a pace determined mainly by the advance of technology. That pace has accelerated in the past few years and the prospect is that it will quicken even more in the coming decade. Thus, the rate of change in the kinds of jobs to staff the new technology will quicken too. An important field of expanding job opportunities in the years immediately ahead—for rural boys and girls as well as their city cousins—will be in the sciences. One problem then is to identify and recruit rural youth with talent for science and to help them obtain the type of education at all levels necessary for their development as scientists.

A point underscored by the Agriculture Panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee is the problem of obtaining adequately trained agricultural scientists. The scope of agricultural research extends across a broad spectrum from the physical and life sciences through studies of educational, social, and economic adjustments demanded in a changing world. The report notes that:

> Children in farm-rural areas receive less schooling, both in number of years and in quality, than the national average. The proportion of youth from urban and farm-rural areas who attend universities is sharply out of balance—a much smaller percentage of the high school graduates who are farm youths go on to college. Here is an undeveloped resource naturally inclined toward the agricultural sciences and capable of contributing to the national technical manpower pool (*4*).

Most of the 15,000 people employed by the Agricultural Research Service of USDA are located in field stations, experimental farms, and laboratories throughout the United States—at more than 200 locations in all parts of the country.

It has been suggested that part-time jobs be set up in these field stations for high school students who are interested in science and who attend high schools that may not yet be equipped to motivate and prepare the students for careers in science.

Professional Forest Service men can operate effectively only if they have a competent staff of nonprofessionals to work with. These nonprofessionals are divided into the following categories: (a) technicians—fire dispatchers, timber markers, timber cruisers, log scalers, road survey party chiefs; (b) aides—lookouts, smokechasers, smokejumpers, timber stand improvement crew members, recreation guards; (c) clerical and related workers—typists, payroll clerks, stenographers, mail and file clerks, dictating-machine transcribers, messengers; (d) skilled workers—carpenters, welders, electricians, parachute packers, bulldozer operators, cooks; and (e) laborers—forest workers, janitors. Conservation and engineering aides are an essential part of the field work force of the Soil Conservation Service.

New industries in rural communities can encourage the young people to continue their education in a number of ways—indirectly by the presence of managers and other skilled employees with college training, and directly by granting college scholarships.

New industries in a community can be the impetus for other people to go back to school—people in middle life who were unable to attend high school in their youth. A news story from Arkansas illustrates the eagerness that can be found in rural areas for further schooling. Three Negro mothers, one of them 53 and the mother of nine children, were graduated from high school last spring. They enrolled after officials announced that any Negro desiring to complete high school would be allowed to do so without paying tuition.

RAD GOALS

The fuel that propels the RAD effort is a compound of individual aspirations and national aims. Our Rural Areas Development program is the response of the U.S. Government to individual aspirations—to the expressed needs of the rural people. The action in Washington grew out of specific activities of many people—people working singly and in groups, in the villages and towns, in private organizations and public agencies, in the counties, in the States, and in regions encompassing several States.

The national aim of RAD—to give purpose, direction, and hope to rural America as it adjusts to rapid change—is related to other national goals of high priority:

1. Rural areas development is essential to the achievement of a more rapid rate of national economic growth.
2. It is essential to the full employment of our people and the full use of our physical resources. Our aim is to use our land and water and other physical resources rather than to allow them to remain partly or fully idle.
3. Rural areas development is making it possible to build a reservoir of experience, a reservoir on which the developing nations of the world can draw, a reservoir that serves as a continuing reminder of the ability of democratic government and the free enterprise system to solve problems of rural poverty.
4. Rural areas development serves the national interests by using rural resources in ways that conserve, and at the same time serve the real needs of all our people—urban as well as rural.

Perhaps the best way to size up the job ahead for RAD committees is in the number of jobs that will be needed—some 6 million new jobs in the coming decade. The evidence—now manifesting itself in a ferment of planning and activity in rural areas across the land—indicates that most if not all of these jobs can become a reality, that the outmigration from rural areas can be reversed, and that economic development and opportunities for youth and young adults will flourish.

The endless possibilities for the development of our rural areas hold a special challenge for the young people themselves—a challenge to build an America for the 21st century that is a natural outgrowth of the Nation our forefathers founded.

One of the biggest jobs before us is to make clear to our young people that they are needed in their own communities. We must help them realize that they can make a contribution in building a rural America—and in doing so realize their own potential for growth. Without their help it will be impossible to build for the future. With their participation we can build a great strong bridge to "the wonders on the other side."

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PART VI

Helping Socially Disadvantaged Rural Youth

Chapter 26

Migrant Children and Youth

By Florence R. Wyckoff, B.A., Chairman, Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, California

DEFINITION OF "MIGRANT"

Congress did not define the term "migrant" but established a Migrant Health Act which made it necessary for administrative purposes to develop a working definition of the term, as follows: "An agricultural migrant is a person who moves each year to one or more work locations beyond normal commuting distance from his home. His migration follows a seasonal course, often through several States. Customarily he returns to a place he calls 'home' when the crop season is over elsewhere. He may or may not be accompanied by family dependents."

There are many kinds of migratory workers in America, but we are mainly concerned with the agricultural migrant and his family because "agricultural labor" is specifically exempted from much protective legislation covering other types of workers who move about, such as construction workers or lumber workers. For example, workers employed in agriculture are exempt from the Fair Labor Standards Act, Federal Wage and Hour Law. All States except Hawaii exempt them from unemployment insurance and all but California exempt them from disability insurance. Only a limited number are covered under Social Security. Residence requirements make it difficult for them to qualify for assistance benefits.

Most Federal social and labor legislation contains specific exemptions for farm labor, and most State and county social, labor, and welfare laws provide either that "nonresidents shall be ineligible" or, like the Federal laws, exempt agricultural workers.

The agricultural worker, whether migrant or not, is identified mainly in the language describing exclusions rather than inclusions in protective legislation. It has thus created a category of people in need of special consideration.

HOW MANY MIGRANT CHILDREN ARE THERE?

Estimates vary and are hard to pin down, but background information developed by the Bureau of the Census (6) provides a starting point. For example, in the peak month of July 1957, a total of 1,527,000 children 10–15 years of age worked on farms. Of these 1,012,000 were 10–13 years of age. Migrant children are among this group, but not identified as a proportion of it.

In the school month of October 1957, it is estimated that 690,000 youths from 14–17 years of age were working in agriculture and 45 percent of these were classified as paid workers. Migrant children were included but not identified.

The total estimated number of domestic agricultural migrant workers in the United States is about 500,000—including those who migrate within States as well as between States. This number has not decreased significantly in the past 10 years—nor is it likely to in the foreseeable future.

An estimated 175,000–225,000 children under 18 migrate with their families. A similar number of children of migrant workers do not migrate with their families. Thus, the total number of children under 18 whose parents are migrant workers is estimated to be between 350,000 and 450,000.

The most recent official statistics available indicate that there were 415,000 agricultural migrant children under 14 years of age in 1961 (7, p. 2).

This is a small proportion of the 33,000,000 Americans who move every year, but it is the group that can least afford the expensive costs of moving. With the termination of Public Law 78 there may be many more children in the migrant streams as family labor fills the places of single men, the Mexican nationals (*braceros*). Replacements will have to be found for about 200,000 imported Mexicans when the *bracero* program expires. If half of these men are replaced by families, rural communities along the path of migration will see many more migrant children and youth.

WHAT IS THEIR ECONOMIC STATUS?

Average annual earnings of all farmworkers dropped from $1,125 in 1960 to $1,054 in 1961 (5).

Migratory farm workers' income dropped from $1,016 in 1960 to $902 in 1961 (4). Male migrant agricultural workers averaged about 148 days' work per year. Meager incomes are stretched by large families. Migrant families are larger than urban families; one estimate of the average size of the migrant family is 6.5 persons (1).

Economically, the migrant farm worker occupies the lowest level of any major group in the American economy.

The Secretary of Labor testified "In 1960 . . . the migrant farm worker earned an average wage of $19 per week, the nonmigrant $22 per week, and the factory worker $90 per week" (3).

National statistics on average family income of domestic migrants are not available. Information from a sample study in Belle Glade, Florida, showed average annual earnings of $1,733 per seasonal migratory household, with an average of 1.9 workers per household. Among migrant households in southern Texas, with an average of 6.5 members, of whom 3 were workers, average annual earnings were $2,256 in 1956—less than half the median income for all U.S. households that year (1).

The extremely low income earned annually by most migratory farm workers puts great pressure upon them to keep their children at work as long as possible, even during the school year. As one mother said to a school attendance officer, "If we don't all work, we don't eat" (9, p. 13).

Evidence of the importance of the economic incentive is found in the frequent, and sometimes illegal, employment of migrant children in the fields. According to a report of the U.S. Department of Labor, in fiscal 1959, 4,389 children under 16 years were illegally employed on 1,749 farms in 38 States and Puerto Rico in violation of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Of this number, 2,691 were local children and 1,698 were migrant youth. The great majority of the children who were found working during school hours—3,116—were under 14 years of age. According to the results of a survey by the Department of Labor of the migratory children found to be illegally employed in 1959, 66 percent were enrolled in school grades below normal for their ages. At age 15 the percentage in school grades below normal for their age was 87 percent for migratory children. As the recent report of the President's Committee on Migratory Labor says:

> This is perhaps the most distressing aspect of the migrant's condition. Children who are unable to obtain a basic elementary education will probably never be able to rise above their present circumstances to enjoy a better life. It this manner many migrants are caught in a vicious cycle (1, p. 11).

WHY DO THESE FAMILIES MIGRATE?

They follow the sun and seek employment where extra hands are needed to plant and harvest the crops.

Migrants are migrants by necessity rather than by choice. Each year a substantial turnover occurs in the migrant population, with many persons leaving the migrant streams to be replaced by new entrants to the migrant work force. As far back as 1951, the President's Committee on Migratory Labor pointed out that poverty and the need to find employment, or more rewarding employment, are compelling forces that induce people to enter and remain in the migrant streams. Workers with children often find the economic compulsion to migrate particularly strong. A recent study of the incomes of migrant workers in southern Texas (an area from which farmworkers migrate to more than 30 States) reported that:

> The size of the family is associated with the need to migrate. When the family becomes too large for the earnings of one worker to support them all, he looks for work in which other members can contribute to the family income. Conversely, families quit migrating when enough members obtain local employment and it no longer pays them to migrate (2, p. 3).

They also move from low-wage areas to high-wage areas seeking better wages and working conditions.

They have certain specialized skills and tend to follow a particular crop, such as cotton, or fruit, etc. This tends to increase travel time where a wider range of skills would enable them to remain stabilized for longer periods of time.

WHERE DO THEY GO?

Principal flow of migration of agricultural workers is along five main streams, but there is much "free wheeling" around between streams so that no planned services can reach the same families each year on a predictable basis. The fact is that the whole farm labor force is very unstable and disordered as compared with industry.

Uncertainty underlies all farming operations. Many farmers are not able to predict months or even weeks in advance how many workers they will need, when, and for how long.

Crew leaders cannot be sure who will show up when the crew is ready to start or who will leave the crew on the way or join it later. A frost or sudden freeze or rain may upset a crop schedule and mean many days' delay or no harvest and no work.

Harvest needs in various areas overlap and where in one week there may be no work, the next week jobs will open up in many places at once. Farm labor information offices try to guide workers to employers and help make the many thousands of adjustments that have to take place to harvest the crops.

According to the Bureau of Employment Security, the main lines of migration are as follows:

- The East Coast movement—involving about 50,000 workers—beginning in Florida in the winter and following the East Coast to New England.
- The sugarbeet and fruit movement—involving some 75,000 workers almost entirely of Mexican descent—beginning in Texas in April and flowing up into the North Central, Mountain, and Pacific Northwest States.
- The Southwest cotton harvest movement—involving some 100,000 workers—beginning in July in Texas and flowing westward into New Mexico, Arizona, and southern California.

- The Western States movement—involving over 100,000 workers—up and down the Pacific Coast States for the harvesting of a wide diversity of crops.
- The wheat and small grain harvest movement—involving about 50,000 men—beginning in Texas and flowing north into Montana, North Dakota, and even Canada. Since this movement does not involve any extensive migration of families, it is not of special concern to this report (1, p. 41).

WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF HIGH MOBILITY ON CHILDREN OF MIGRATORY FARM WORKERS?

Mobility is hard on children even among the 33 million Americans who move every year, the vast majority of whom move into steady employment, to establish a home in a new community. Children of most of these families are moved between terms, so as not to interrupt their schooling They come to a new school well fed, well washed, well clothed, their school lunch money in their pockets, and able to meet other children on somewhat equal footing. But the child of migratory farm workers must move when the crop season ends, regardless of schools. His unstable and insecure life has a profoundly disruptive effect particularly compounded for the one whose family cannot provide him with the good shoes, the clean clothes, and the school lunch money that might give him at least an even break when he comes straggling in, in the middle of the term, to enter a room full of strange faces.

Constant change of schools means loss of time, loss of credit for work, inadequate transfer of records, and an inevitable falling behind in the normal grade level for his age. Although the migratory child must be educated in order to become a useful and well-adjusted citizen, society has not given him the chance to receive even minimal training.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Anthony J Celebrezze summarized the low educational attainments of migratory children:

> Migrant agricultural workers are often described as America's forgotten people and their children are referred to as "the most educationally deprived group of children in our Nation." They enter school late, their attendance is poor, their progress is slow, they drop out early; consequently their illiteracy is high. Studies indicate that most migrant children are far below grade level and that their school achievement is usually under fourth grade (8, p. 3).

When the migrant child reaches adolescence, the disparity between his age and size and that of his younger, smaller classmates is magnified for him, becomes painful, and is a significant factor in his desire to drop out of school. There is pressure from the family to make him go to work in the fields, to follow the crops, to increase the family take-home pay. A migratory farm worker must value education very highly to keep his child in school for the full term. It means real sacrifice. Probably nothing would contribute more to keeping a child in school than steady work for his father.

WHO ARE OUR MIGRANT CHILDREN?

Migrant youth come from racial, national, or socioeconomic minorities. They include Texas Mexicans, a considerable number of whom speak no English.

It is significant to note the place of the family in a "crew." It is common in the Southwest to find a crew which may be composed of 50 to 100 persons who are in an "extended family" relationship. Family members include not only grandmother and grandfather, but many sons and daughters and their wives and children, and cousins as well as *compadres* (someone similar to a godfather), all of whom feel a responsibility for each other.

There may be infants and children as part of the group. The grandmother and grandfather may be taken along as a necessary part of the crew to perform the important function of "day care" or babysitting for all the nonworking children while their parents and the older children are in the fields.

The crew leader may be one of the older sons who can speak English and who knows how to deal with the farmers and contractors. He is the one who plans and manages each move. He must find the housing and food along the way and handle any emergencies that arise. He is the bridge to the local community when a crisis occurs, such as illness, accidents, injuries, or violations of law, etc. He acts as interpreter and go-between for the group and the community. He has, therefore, very great power over the group. If he is honest and competent and experienced, the group is in good hands, but if he is not, the group is at his mercy and they can get into serious trouble.

Our migrant youth may include children of "green-card" Mexicans, or *viseros*, thousands of whom come across the border to work in the crops and migrate long distances. Many of these families return across the border at the end of the season because the cost of living is lower in Mexico and they can stretch out the slim savings better. Their children speak little or no English, and few adults speak English in the home.

We have a group of foreign nationals, many of whom originally came in as *braceros* or single men under contract as defined under Public Law 78, but who have returned to Mexico to bring in the whole family under a "green card." This enables them all to work and move from job to job, in or out of agriculture, but requires them not to become a public charge and to report once a year to the Immigration Service. This is the way many have become established here and finally become American citizens.

There are thousands of Negro children in our migrant streams, going from Florida to New York and from other Southern States up into Michigan and Wisconsin.

There are low income Anglos from the southern hills and mountains, forced out of depressed areas, who form another cultural group along the migrant path. Likewise there are Indians and other minorities. Cultural differences and language barriers increase the difficulty of communication and community acceptance wherever they go. Rejected by many communities, migrant youth are thrown back upon their own kind, thus intensifying rather than ameliorating differences. Family ties are unusually strong and the family is the only unit of society understood by many of them.

Language differences, differences in cultural patterns, and social organization and values on the part of traditional agencies of settled communities, far from the home base of the migrant, combine to make migrant youth feel more unwelcome.

Intergroup tensions among adult workers, stemming from fear of newcomers or nonresidents or foreigners who "get the job because they will work for less," are reflected in similar tensions among school age youth in towns along the migratory path, particularly where there is high unemployment.

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO ALLEVIATE THE HANDICAPS BORNE BY OUR MIGRANT CHILDREN AND YOUTH?

The fact of migrancy or extreme mobility coupled with extremely low income produces a whole series of handicaps each compounding the other—poor health, poor education, poor nutrition, poor housing, and social rejection.

Settling

It has been observed that one way out of the trap begins with the attempt to settle and become a part of a community. Most migrant families have a "home base" where they spend the longest single period of the year or where they "winter over." This is where the children can stay the longest time in one school and where it is possible for the family to become legal "residents," where they may be able to find help from the "welfare" when the skimpy savings run out. Unfortunately, most of the home base areas simply do not have year-round employment in agriculture and sufficient supplementary employment to stabilize the family in one spot. The local taxpayers will not support these families on welfare when there is work elsewhere any more than the farm worker will live on welfare when he can find a good job elsewhere. So that cycle starts again.

Of the 415,000 migrant children it is estimated that 175,000–225,000 do not migrate, but stay at a home base with relatives. These are the children who may be gaining ground by spending longer periods of time in school and by relating to the services of the community. These are the children who may be reached by the immunization clinics or by the regular school health programs.

Employment Stability

Obviously any effort that can be made to stabilize the family in a community will help the child. Employment methods which introduce an orderly system into the present chaotic labor demand and supply will help the farmer and the farm worker, and the rural community, as well as the children in it. The present "free"or unregulated flow of labor along the migratory paths, where the labor market may be glutted one day and scarce the next and the general uncertainty that prevails, produces wasteful moving about of migrants who can least afford to move, and crippling underemployment for the majority of them. This is hardly the life in which to raise a family.

The Annual Worker Plan is an attempt on the part of the Employment Service to work with farm operators to arrange an orderly way of locating and relocating domestic farm workers. However, there are no funds for transportation of domestic workers and no firm contractual commitments such as there are for the Mexican *bracero* under Public Law 78, so it is difficult to make the Annual Worker Plan function on a large scale. Yet, about 155,000 workers were placed through this plan in 1959.

In general, the farm placement service tries first to meet the demands out of local labor supply. This tends to reduce migrancy. However, wages are apt to be lower in the big labor supply States and frequently workers there will leave early to go north in search of higher wages, wanting to get there ahead of the others. This is the age-old pattern of migrancy and confusion.

Proposals have been made to set up a plan for domestic workers somewhat similar to that provided imported Mexican nationals under Public Law 78 which would provide transportation, housing, subsistence, medical care for family groups, provide a minimum guarantee of employment at the prevailing wage, and afford certain other protections to out-of-area workers brought in to supplement the local labor force. Hopefully, this would reduce migrancy and introduce an element of order into the employment of domestic farm workers which does not now exist. Hopefully, it would reduce the number of families with children traveling long distances in search of work, gambling on baseless rumors, or appearing finally for work so undernourished and exhausted that they are almost unemployable. However, migrancy might be stimulated unless there is assurance that all available local labor will be employed before outside labor is brought in.

Health

The infant mortality rate is often three times as high in major labor supply areas as in nearby urban areas.

The new Migrant Health Act permitting strengthening and extending of local health and medical care services to migratory farm workers and their families has just been started. Many rural communities are not aware that this resource is available to them as an aid in solving some of the overwhelming health problems of migrant children. Word should be sent to all communities along the path of major migrations and help given to them in making use of these funds for direct health service to migrant families.

For example, the following goals were established for the migrant health program in California and progress is being made along these lines:

1. Elimination of residence requirements for admission to county hospitals.
2. Expansion of family clinics, maternity care, immunization programs, crippled children's clinics, and other outpatient and communicable disease services to bring them close to the migrant camps.
3. Provision of transportation for patients and expansion of medical staff, including physicians, nutritionists, social workers, and public health nurses for intensified work in migrant camps.
4. Improvement in coordination of the work of health and welfare agencies.
5. Assistance in meeting the costs of medical and hospital care.
6. Adaptation of usual public health services to be more responsive to the culture and living and working patterns of migrants (9).

Housing

Housing for migratory farm workers ranges from the very best, a cement block cabin with inside plumbing, to the wood cabin with or without floor and usually without water, to "ditch bank" living in an old car. The principal characteristic of migrant housing is its crowded quarters with no privacy and no sanitary facilities except at a distance. Samples of reports from a migrant ministry worker are as follows:

> Almost without exception, the migrant housing consists of one room that may have beds, but seldom mattresses. In most instances there is a stove . . . often as many as 10 live in a 12 by 16 cabin. I know of no camps that have indoor toilet facilities.

It has been found difficult for small growers to finance on-the-farm housing of good standards for use during a short season. During the *bracero* program, growers' associations or large labor contracting groups built housing of the barracks type, suitable for single man labor, meeting legal standards required by the treaty with Mexico for the use of imported nationals. During the 10 years of the use of single male labor, most family-type housing has been either demolished or removed to fringe slum areas where it is occupied by very low income families, some of whom are migrants.

A new practical approach to family housing for both the migrant and the local seasonal farm worker is badly needed. Past experience has shown that it has to be subsidized until such time as a family can settle and begin home ownership.

Home ownership through self-help housing cooperatives at winter-base communities has been found possible in a small demonstration with the help of private voluntary agencies and long-term loans.

Education

The main problem in giving an adequate education to a migrant child is to enable him to stay in school and have an equal chance to keep up with his age mates. With strong family ties as a dominant factor, most migrant parents will not leave their children behind as they migrate. Children are an integral part of a working family complex. For example, too often we find a young girl of 12 or 13 years of age who has never been to school at all because she has been the babysitter for all the others. Teenage girls are the ones most likely to be thus handicapped among certain cultures where the girl children are kept very close to home.

Day care centers for preschool children and infants might alleviate this condition and permit this little girl to go to school, but it will take more than just the availability of a day care center to change lifelong habits and attitudes among parents who have little experience with such centers. Much interpretation is needed; voluntary community agencies can be of great assistance in this program.

The schools along the path of migration may be able to set up meaningful educational programs for migrant children but they are handicapped by financial problems.

The seasonal impact of migratory children produces an acute fiscal problem for rural school districts which, in comparison to urban school districts, already face the most serious financial handicaps in our educational system. It is highly impractical to expect the rural communities to provide adequate education to children of transient, low income families who do not contribute to the local tax system or otherwise help to defray the cost of educating their children.

As the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare testified before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor:

> It is not uncommon for the number of school age children in a community to increase more than 200 percent during the peak of the harvest season. Regular educational funds are not available to provide additional classrooms, teachers, transportation, equipment, and supplies for children of the migrants. They are an unacceptable burden for many school districts.
>
> Communities into which migrants move are reluctant to tax themselves for the education of the children of migrants, because these migratory pupils may reside in their districts for only 2–8 weeks" (8, p. 4).

Adequate educational programs for migratory children would be possible if funds were available to the appropriate educational agencies.

The seven States that presently operate summer schools for migrant children have clearly demonstrated the feasibility of educating the migrant child. In these summer sessions, many pupils have been able to do enough work to complete the school year or even to make up one and sometimes two grades of schooling. Total enrollment in these summer schools during 1961, however, was only 3,855, a small fraction of the number of migrant farm children.

Federal assistance would make it possible to implement these summer programs on a national basis. Federal aid to local school districts on the basis of the migratory school age population would relieve serious financial difficulties and would enable these districts to provide adequate education for migratory children. A program of grants for summer schools would allow communities to use otherwise idle facilities for the purpose of reducing the disruptive effects of frequent travel. Finally, a program of coordinating grants would make it possible for local school districts and State educational agencies to work together, on a State and interstate basis, in an effort to develop continuity in educational programs for migratory children.

Like their children, adult migratory agricultural workers are in serious need of educational programs. Adult migratory workers have an extremely low level of educational attainment, and they are often unfamiliar with practical skills for modern living. The lack of basic formal education and lack of knowledge of modern community living tend to perpetuate the substandard economic and social conditions under which migratory farm workers have lived for several decades.

It is clear that adult migratory workers have received even less formal education than their children. The Department of Agriculture has found that, of all migrants over the age of 25, one-third are functionally illiterate. An additional 43 percent have no more than an eighth grade education; the median years of school completed by migrants over the age of 25 is 6.5. The same age group in the general population has a median of 11 years of schooling.

A lack of practical knowledge among migrants is common. In many cases, migratory workers do not understand or properly use ordinary living facilities such as toilets, showers, bedding, kitchen appliances, and garbage cans. The result has been unnecessary damage to property and needless expense for repairs. In addition, there is frequent ignorance of the simplest rules of hygiene and nutrition. Educational efforts are also needed to enable migrants to take advantage of even the limited legal protections and community services which are presently available to them.

Community Responsibilities

Recognizing that farm workers are persons of worth who have the capacity to make a significant cultural, social, and economic contribution to the larger community, it was recommended by a recent conference of growers, farm workers, public and private voluntary agencies, that an effort be made at the community level to provide some way in which the farm worker would make himself heard and join in the decision-making processes of the total community, particularly where his own destiny is involved.

There is very little leadership in agricultural labor outside of the family itself. In order to cultivate good leadership, it will be necessary for the community to reach out to include those who have dropped out of the migrant stream and are settling, and perhaps use them as a bridge across which some of the migrant families can cross to become a part of the community.

There is poor communication among most groups concerned, and much unnecessary tension arises from this one factor. If nothing more is done than to establish a regular series of meetings involving community agencies with a few members of the farm worker community, ways can be found to solve many problems at the local level. Usually it requires some one person to make it his whole business to see that this kind of communication takes place.

Particularly in winter-base communities there can be development of neighborhood groups working for self-improvement through self-help. Some church and other voluntary agencies need to understand how to work with and encourage this self-respecting approach to upgrading standards of living. Better use can be made of charitable donations to help the needy than in a "handout" of food and clothes. An example can be cited of the self-help housing cooperatives started by such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, in which the migrant farm worker himself contributes his labor.

It is recommended that a continuing committee be formed in each rural community bringing together regularly representatives of public and private agencies, elected officials, churchmen, educators, health, housing, welfare, and employment officials, farmers and farm workers to seek areas of agreement in which common problems can be solved.

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Chapter 27

Rural Youth With Special Problems— Low Income, Negro, Indian, Spanish-American

Based on

The Movement of Spanish Youth From Rural to Urban Settings

Julian Samora, Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Sociology Department, University of Notre Dame.

Donald N. Barrett, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, the Sociology Department, University of Notre Dame.

Problems and Special Needs of Negro Youth in Rural Areas

Lewis W. Jones, Ph.D., Research Sociologist, Adjustment of Youth Study, Department of Psychology, Fisk University.

Programs for Indian Youth

Robert A. Roessel, Jr., D.Ed., Director of the Indian Education Center, Arizona State University.

White Youth From Low Income Rural Families: Achievement Milieu and Agribusiness Opportunities

Lee Taylor, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology and Rural Sociology at Louisiana State University.

Arthur R. Jones, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Sociology at University of Maryland.

Rural Youth in a Changing Puerto Rico

Joseph Bram, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Graduate School of Arts and Science, New York University.

Social order in a large urbanized society depends upon widespread acceptance of many basic values or cultural universals. Most youth and adults accept the dominant national goals and the normative means for achieving them, but there are groups who may not perceive the goals at all, or if they do, may reject the goals or lack the means to achieve them. These groups may be considered to constitute subcultures within the larger society.

Viewed from the vantage point of the larger society, subcultural groups with their different traditions and institutions may appear to be maladjusted within the framework of their own institutional life. But when members of the dominant and subcultural systems interact, they often experience the frustration of blocked communication and conflicts of values and interests, all of which make understanding difficult.

Some of these special problems may be illustrated by examining the position of low income farm youth and Negro rural youth.

WHITE LOW INCOME FARM YOUTH

Low income farm operators lack the resources to take advantage of the technological developments in agriculture. And, because low income farmers have so little to sell, agricultural price-support or stabilization programs are of comparatively little assistance to them (7). In general, low income farm families also have low levels of living, as measured by the presence of facilities such as telephones, modern water supply, and condition of the farm dwelling unit. They also have less formal education than the rest of the rural population, rank low on measures of occupational prestige, and infrequently participate in community activities and organizations.

Partly as a result of these conditions, youth from low income farm families differ from other youth in several important ways. For one thing, youth from such families have little first hand familiarity with occupations other than farming and may not be aware of alternative occupations available to them. For another, the limited educational opportunities in many low income areas restrict their educational attainment and motivation and limit the range of occupational alternatives.

Research shows that both the educational attainment and educational aspirations of low income farm youth differ from those of other youth. They assign less importance to education and fewer aspire to continue their education beyond high school. Dropout rates are comparatively high for these youth, reflecting the low educational level of their parents. In general, then, low income backgrounds influence the personal and social development of youth by providing only limited social and cultural environments with restricted educational and occupational alternatives (1, 2). Since only a small minority of farm youth—perhaps only 10 percent—can expect to become operators of adequate-sized farms, the majority must seek other occupations. But the decreasing number of unskilled and semiskilled jobs means that youth from low income backgrounds are handicapped in competing for the higher status occupations.

There are two important ways in which the position of these youth may be improved. One is through vocational training to provide them with the skills required in today's labor force. A second approach is to help low income farm youth to become aware of a wider range of occupations through counseling and guidance programs.

One source of occupations for youth with a farm background is that of agribusiness—that is, jobs in industries such as food and fiber producers, suppliers, processors, and distributors. Jobs range from those of salesmen of farm machinery to scientists engaged in agricultural research. Among the advantages of a farm background in such occupations are the familiarity with the language of the farmer and with day-to-day farming operations (9). Any employee in agribusiness must gain both technological competence and an appreciation of the rural way of life, but most farm youth have this latter familiarity and need only acquire the technological competence.

But even though there are opportunities in agribusiness, youth from low income farm families do not take advantage of these opportunities as frequently as those from higher income families. Their failure to do so can be explained more by their differential goal systems than by lack of ability. This suggests that specific programs are required to modify their goals and values so that they may be motivated to take advantage of the educational and training programs that are available to them.

NEGRO RURAL YOUTH

Perhaps the most serious problems of rural youth are those of rural Negroes who comprise a substantial proportion of the low income population. Information from the 1960 census illustrates the disadvantaged position of rural Negroes. In 1960, there were about 2.9 million nonwhite children and youth in rural areas of the United States and 2.5 million (87 percent) of all rural nonwhite youth were living in the South. (Since well over 90 percent of all rural nonwhites are Negroes, census data on nonwhites may be used to portray accurately the position of Negroes.) In the rural population of the United States, over half of all Negroes were under 20 years of age compared with about 40 percent of all whites. Thus, Negroes, who are the more economically disadvantaged are also shouldering a greater burden of dependent children.

About 8 out of 10 of rural Negro families in the South had incomes of less than $3,000 in 1959. Moreover, the parents of rural Negro youth are not only poor but have low levels of education. About 80 percent of rural Negro adults (25 years old and over) in the South in 1960 had completed less than 8 years of school, and half of all Negro rural adults in Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina had completed less than 6 years of school.

Despite the migration of rural Negroes to urban areas within the South and to places outside the South, the rural-nonfarm nonwhite population of the South increased by one-half between 1950 and 1960.

The technological changes in rural areas of the South have contributed to changes in the social structure. Displacement of workers from agriculture, with consequent migration from rural to urban areas, has been accompanied by problems related to institutional services in rural areas.

The social services taken for granted in urban communities are not provided in rural areas. Such services as are available are limited in their use because of established patterns of segregation and discrimination based on race and by the failure of social service agencies to adapt to the needs of a poor, lower status clientele.

The economic and social influences that are operating to change the status of the rural Negro may be expected to continue. This will mean more social disorganization and personal maladjustment as the older order disintegrates.

The emerging new order in the rural South makes little provision for the disadvantaged Negro population. The Rural Areas Development program of the Federal Government is carried out by local agencies which operate within the traditional southern political framework. This means that Negroes are often not included and seldom share directly in the benefits of such programs. Young Negroes who are growing up in the rural South see little evidence that there will be more opportunities for them than there now are for their parents.

Not only have economic and technological changes made farm tenants expendable, but Negro owners of small farms find themselves marginal and less able to compete. Agriculture is by no means an attractive career prospect for young Negroes.

School improvement in the rural South as represented by consolidation and new buildings is deceptive. The content of instruction, use of newer, more effective teaching methods; and the number of fully qualified teachers lag behind improvements in plant and equipment. Young Negroes are not being given an education that will fit them for higher levels of employment in nonfarm occupations.

Youth who want to get out of and away from school find it easy to do so in rural areas where there is weak, if any, enforcement of school attendance. The limited educational experiences offered to them do not open the way to the economic and social goals they desire. Since no acceptable choices are offered, they frequently drop out of high school before graduation and leave the rural area for urban communities within and outside of the South. Their problems in the areas to which they migrate will be compounded but the problems will no longer be those of the rural community.

Children in the Negro farm-owner class may be said to have "bright prospects." The physical conditions of living in the home are comfortable. The isolation of the family is minimized by easy access to media of mass communication. Their educational opportunities are superior to those which earlier generations of rural Negro youth have enjoyed. Buses take them to new consolidated schools. Their parents are well informed of what is happening to advance the Negro status nationally and regionally. Their horizons are far beyond the near tree line behind which the sun sets. The Negro farmowner class, however, is a small minority and becoming relatively smaller.

Negro rural youth have special needs, among the most important of which are:

1. A need for good basic education. New buildings, buses, and facilities do not mean a new education. In much of the South, Negro teachers have better education than white teachers, if measured in terms of degrees. However, the fact remains that these teachers received their degrees from "Negro" colleges that are not accredited or rest on tradition rather than national standards.
2. Special training for new opportunities in the rural areas is needed. The new plants being built in the South employ trained white workers; not enough white or Negroes educated in the South are "ready" for these jobs. This unreadiness, coupled with ever-increasing automation, may quickly produce a large mass of Negro unemployables.
3. For rural-nonfarm youth, the whole range of opportunities and welfare services needs to be made available. This means that the best services in urban areas should be extended to all the population, white and Negro alike.
4. Full integration is the basic need of Negro rural farm youth who are the children of farmowners. With the rapid decrease of Negro farmers, it is imperative that normal participation in neighborhood and community institutions be provided and encouraged.

AMERICAN INDIAN YOUTH

The effects of poverty and deprivation, long experienced by American Indians, are compounded by the indifference and apathy of the general population toward the Indian and by his own inability to articulate his needs through the press or ballot box. Among the more than half million Indians in the United States in 1960, over half, or about 276,000, were under 20 years of age. Two of the chief problems facing these Indian youth are acquiring an education and developing a sense of cultural identity, neither of which will be achieved easily.

Although school dropouts among Indian youth remain high, tribal leaders look to education as a panacea. Generally speaking, Indian leaders are primarily concerned with the practical benefits of education so that reservation resources, both human and material, can be developed more adequately. At the same time, however, great emphasis is placed on a college education, with the result that many Indian youth attend college who have neither the motivation nor ability to succeed (3).

In contrast, Indian education must strive to meet the needs of all youth, not just the college-bound. Present off-reservation vocational schools need to be continued and expanded. Perhaps more post high school vocationally oriented schools, like Haskell Institute in Kansas, should be developed.

Inadvertently, the education of Indian youth frequently contributes to a widening gulf between parents and youth, partly because youth frequently leave home to attend a boarding school [1] and partly because school curriculum and experiences lead youth to become critical of their parents' way of life. Seldom are Indian traditions presented positively. Usually only the white man's way of thinking and behaving is presented.

Confusion over their cultural identity often leads to interpersonal problems among Indians that frequently are expressed in terms of jealousy and suspicion of others. Results of jealousy, suspicion, and distrust of others are illustrated in the school performance of many Indians who are reluctant to do better than their classmates; in the reluctance of Indians to assume leadership, fearing to set themselves off as better than their friends; and in hostility and conflict between Indian youth and elders and between Indians living on and off reservation. In all cases, jealousy, fear, mistrust, and suspicion all too often prevent Indians from effectively working together.

Within the past several years a number of significant programs for Indian youth have been developed. Important among these are the summer camp programs established by various tribes that last from several days to several months. These programs stress work training projects, citizenship development, and provide ample recreational opportunities. Scholarship programs have been introduced by many tribes. College-orientation programs at the Arizona State University and New Mexico University have materially reduced college dropout rates among Indian youth. Indian youth councils, designed to develop leadership, to acquaint Indians with their cultural heritage, and to help youth acquire technical and professional skills, have spread among many tribes in widely separated States since the first council at the University of New Mexico in 1954 (6).

In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began a summer project for Indian youth. In 1960, 220 Indian youth participated; by 1962, almost 13,000 Indian youth participated in summer camping, arts and crafts, recreational, 4-H, academic and work programs (4).

In the summer of 1963, three new youth programs sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs were initiated: (a) a group of school student officers visited Washington to study government operation; (b) work teams in the Portland area did construction work related to fire towers and other structures in forest areas; (c) summer kindergarten programs were initiated (5).

Indian youth share the need for improvements and revisions in education and training programs with all deprived youth, but for Indian youth the educational curriculum must be made more meaningful and must be revised to acquaint Indians with their history, culture, and tribal governmental processes. In addition, however, critically needed by Indian youth are greatly expanded recreational facilities on or near reservations. Of great benefit to Indian youth would be the development of meaningful and continuous adult educational programs and community development projects.

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[1] Over 40,000 Indian youth are attending boarding schools, almost 32 percent of all Indian youth in school (3).

SPANISH-AMERICAN YOUTH

The two principal groups of Spanish-speaking people in the United States are the Spanish-Americans or Mexican-Americans, who predominantly live in the Southwestern part of the United States; and the Puerto Ricans, who are concentrated in New York City and other East Coast cities, although a number of Puerto Ricans are migrating to Chicago and other Midwestern cities as well. Despite differences in their historical backgrounds and periods of time in the United States, these two groups share many common patterns and confront many similar problems. Many elements of family relationships and community patterns of both the Spanish-Americans and Puerto Ricans reflect elements of a "folk" culture that was the result of an agrarian way of life, whereas most Spanish-Americans and stateside Puerto Rican youth are now growing up in metropolitan areas. Most of the following data, however, pertain only to Spanish-speaking families and youth who live in the Southwestern part of the United States.

Most persons of Spanish descent, excluding Puerto Ricans, live in five Southwestern States. For this reason, detailed census data on Spanish-Americans are available only for these five States. Of the approximately 3.5 million persons having Spanish surnames and living in the Southwest in 1960, 1,426,538 lived in California; 1,417,810 in Texas; 269,122 in New Mexico; 194,356 in Arizona; and 157,173 in Colorado.

In 1950, 66 percent of the population of Spanish surnames living in the Southwest were urban residents; by 1960, 86 percent were. The rapid urban movement of the Spanish-American population has been accomplished by considerable interstate migration as well as rural to urban movement. The personal and social adjustment of these new urban residents, however, has been greatly complicated because the migrants carry a rural folk culture with them, creating widespread and difficult problems as they attempt to adapt to the urban environment. Value orientations of the Spanish-speaking, for instance, typically reflect traditionalism, familism, paternalism, and resignation regarding conditions of life. Also the low value placed on education is congruent with a simple division of labor, a higher value placed on self-sufficiency than riches, and an oral rather than a written tradition. These values stand in sharp contrast with the dominant values of American society, including achievement and success, activity and work, efficiency and practicability; and its emphasis on progress, material comfort, equality of opportunity, rationality, democracy, and individual personality development.

Poverty and deprivation are widespread among the Spanish-speaking. With high fertility, over half the Spanish-speaking population in the Southwest is under 20 years of age, but the Spanish-speaking also have some of the highest mortality and morbidity rates in the United States. Even in similar urban areas, the Spanish-speaking more frequently live in poor housing, are more overcrowded, and more frequently have inadequate sanitary facilities than their Anglo neighbors. Educational levels among Spanish-American adults are between 3 to 6 years below those of the total white population. One-fourth to one-half of the Spanish-American adults are functionally illiterate and high school dropouts remain high among Spanish-American youth. With lower levels of education and lack of skills, unemployment rates among Spanish-American males are three to four times greater than those for the total white population (8).

Though more visible in urban areas, these problems are common among Spanish-American families living in rural areas as well, especially among families who try to eke out a livelihood through migratory farm labor.

In addition to various programs recognized as necessary to combat poverty in any community, rural or urban, special attention must be given to four interrelated needs of the Spanish-speaking in the United States. First is the need for developing effective communication, with particular need for the development of bilingual instruction in schools so that Spanish-speaking children and adults can learn to speak and write English as well as Spanish clearly and fluently. Second, development of leadership among Spanish-Americans must be broadened, expanded, and accelerated. At present, leadership is discouraged by the general ambivalence and suspicion accorded to individuals of Spanish backgrounds who are "successful" because the Spanish-speaking generally assume that success is achieved by cooperating with the Anglo out-group and by betraying one's own (10). Community development efforts could do much to break this self-defeating pattern. Third, if children and youth from Spanish-speaking families are to break out of the poverty and deprivation of their families, school curriculum must be made more meaningful to the life circumstances of lower status Spanish-American children and youth; and programs must be developed to reduce school dropout rates. Fourth and finally, in addition to acquiring a usable education, special attention needs to be given to heldping Spanish-speaking youth and adults secure an adequate income. Such efforts will have to include occupational counseling, training and retraining programs, and elimination of job discrimination.

Enduring contributions to bridge the communication gulf between the Spanish-speaking population and the rest of the population, to develop leadership among the Spanish-Americans, and to improve educational and occupational chances of children and youth from Spanish-American homes may best come through programs that have been organized and operated chiefly by the Spanish-Americans themselves. Present examples include programs initiated by community and religious groups for delinquency prevention, expanded recreation, neighborhood renewal, and improvements in education.

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Appendix

Appendix

Listing of Original Background Papers Incorporated in This Volume

Full text of the papers may be ordered from the National Committee for Children and Youth, 1145 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C., 20036, at a cost of 25c each plus 5c postage. Special discount of $10.00 plus $1.50 postage for complete set.

Identification No.		Appears in chapter
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2.	Economic Bases and Potentials of Rural Communities, by Frank T. Bachmura and John H. Southern	2
3.	Family Backgrounds of Rural Youth, by James H. Copp	3
4.	Rural Education Ssystems—Elementary Education, by Clara E. Cockerille	5
5.	High School Education for Rural Youth, by Noble J. Gividen	5
7.	Vocational and Technical Education at the Post High School Level for Rural Youth, by Gerald B. James and H. G. Beard	6
8.	Junior and Community Colleges in Rural Areas, by David H. Bechtel	6
9.	The Role of School District Reorganization in Improving Rural Education, by M. L. Cushman	5
10.	Programs for Those Rural Schools Which are Necessarily Existent, by Ralph G. Bohrson and Elbie L. Gann	5
11.	Area and Cooperative Approaches to Providing Supplemental Educational Services, by Alvin E. Rhodes	5
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